

The British numismatic journal and proceedings of the British Numismatic Society.

London : Printed for the Society by Harrison and Sons, 1905-

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THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC
JOURNAL.

THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
1903-1904.

EDITED BY
P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., L. A. LAWRENCE,
AND
W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.



FIRST SERIES, VOLUME I.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

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INTRODUCTION.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.—*President.*

BRITISH NUMISMATICS.

NOW wide an area and how considerable a period are covered by the title of this article will be realised to some extent, when it is remembered that not only Great Britain and Ireland, but the vast Indian Empire and our Dominions and Colonies beyond the seas, and also lands at any time under British rule, come within its scope as regards geographical conditions ; whilst as regards time, a period of some two thousand years has passed since our truly British ancestors were sufficiently advanced in the paths of civilisation and trade to be in possession of a well-defined currency, consisting of coined gold, silver, bronze and tin.

The early British coins enable us to ascertain the names of tribes and chieftains whose existence would otherwise be unknown, and in some rarer instances to confirm and explain the references preserved to us in the works of Cæsar and other early writers. Their provenance also, to some extent, aids in the approximate fixing of the territorial spheres of influence of the early British tribes and rulers, and discloses that even at that early period an export and import trade with the Continent and the merchant shippers of Phœnicia was already in being upon our southern coasts.

Coins of Phœnicia and Greece were the prototype of the earliest of the Ancient British coins, and in the first examples the types of obverse and reverse are fairly reproduced whilst, after a series of re-copies, the latest coins became so degraded in type as to be only

B

recognisable as descendants of the originals by means of a comparison of the links of the chain constituting the series. Later in date the coins of British chieftains bear the words **REX**, **FILIVS**, and the like, showing a direct Roman influence. Such are the coins of Tincommius, Verica, Cunobeline (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare) and many others.

The hoards of Roman coins found within these islands throw much light on the period of occupation by the legions of the then Mistress of the known world, whose mints were actually established in this country. The early coins of the Saxon occupants of parts of England, gradually increasing in extent, show how some devices were derived from Roman coins then still current in the land, the busts being copied from those on the coins of Constantine, Magnus Maximus, and other Emperors, while the well-known representations of the Wolf and Twins and the standard of the Roman legionaries served as copies for some of the reverse designs.

These small silver coins, known as Sceattas, disclose by the devices upon them that the earliest examples were issued by a Pagan race, for some bear devices indicative of Scandinavian mythology, including figures that may be intended for the Wolf Fenris and the Midgard serpent; but gradually the cross and other symbols of Christianity appear, and are retained throughout many successive dynasties, even to the present day.

The coins of the kings of the various early Saxon provinces preserve to us, in many instances, the names of rulers otherwise quite unknown, or only barely mentioned in the scanty record of some ancient chronicle. Nay more, they disclose to us the changing fortunes and the increasing or diminishing territories of one or another of the so-called Heptarchic States, and the final triumph of the lords of Wessex as Kings of All England; thus confirming and adding point to the accounts only otherwise evidenced by the pens of the early monastic scribes.

Then, again, coins are occasionally discovered, or newly attributed to kings and potentates well-known to history, but who to the date of such new discovery or attribution have not been accredited with any monetary issue. An instance of this kind is that of the recent

attribution by the writer of a penny to Howel Dda, *i.e.*, Howel the Good, King of Wales, A.D. 915–948. Howel is chiefly remembered at the present day by reason of the code of laws framed by him and approved and sanctioned by the Papal Authority, Howel having made a special journey to Rome in or about the year 926 or 928 to obtain this sanction. The name of the moneyer, Gillys, appearing on the reverse of this unique penny shows that it was coined for Howel at Chester in the reign of Eadmund, King of England, as this moneyer coined there for Eadgar, and the name also occurs on coins of Eadred, presumably therefore also minted at Chester. Although we were aware that in the tenth century there was constant strife on the Welsh Marches, no chronicler has led us to believe that the Welsh were ever so firmly seated at Chester as to be able to establish a mint there and issue a coinage bearing the name of a Welsh king, viz., “*HOWÆL REX . . . E.*”

Many of the Saxon and all the Norman coins disclose to us the names not only of the cities or towns where they were struck, but those of the moneyers responsible for their issue, weight, and fineness.

On certain issues of Alfred's coins we find the names of famous cities. London is represented by the monogram of Londonia¹ and the form Londoniensis also appears, the genitive being used in conjunction with the name of the moneyer “*ÆDELVF.*” the extended reading being “*Æthelwulf the moneyer of London.*” Special notice has been directed to this coin, as official numismatists have attributed it to Croydon and Castle Rising. The cities of Bath (Bathan), Canterbury (Dorobernia), Gloucester (Gleawaceaster), Lincoln (Lin-colla), Oxford (Ousnaforda,² etc.), and Winchester (Winceaster), also appear as mint names on Alfred's money.

Occasionally, also, it is the fortune of the numismatologist to discover coins of mints hitherto unrecognised, and in this connection the writer has been able to first attribute coins of Henry I. to Pembroke and certain Saxon and Norman coins to Twynham, now generally known as Christchurch, in Hampshire.

In Saxon times, after the introduction of the silver penny, the

¹ See Nos. 7–12 of the plate of types found at Cuerdale, facing p. 16.

² See No. 14 of same.

earliest known examples of which are those of Offa, King of Mercia, that coin was practically the only current piece. It is true that north of the Humber there was a smaller coinage, and that halfpennies of Alfred and of the contemporary rulers of Northumbria and the Danish Settlers in East Anglia exist, as do rare examples of such coins of Alfred's immediate successors. There are also certain large pieces of Alfred that have been termed "offering pennies," but which in my judgment were intended as shillings. Of the two specimens in the British Museum the perfect example weighs 162.4 grains, while the other specimen, which appears to be an intentionally cut half coin, weighs only 53 grains and would give the full weight of 106 grains or approximately five pence, the then value of the Wessex shilling, 48 of which went to the £1 of 240 pence. The cutting of the one piece into two halves stamps it as a coin for circulation. The heavier specimen may be a pattern only, as the metal extends considerably beyond the outer circle of the design, whereas the cut piece has no metal beyond the outer circle. The silver penny then remained, with the few exceptions noted, the only English piece from Offa's time till that of Edward I., a period of 500 years or so, but the inconvenience was, to some extent, remedied by the practice of issuing from the mints cut halves of pennies and *fourthings*, hence our present term of farthings, the latter being formed by again dividing the halfpenny through the central radius of the original circle. The cut half of the large coin of Alfred above referred to represents a half shilling, or $2\frac{1}{2}d$.

The late issues of Edward the Confessor, the coins of Harold II., and those of the four succeeding Norman kings bear what are doubtless intended as actual portraits of the monarchs issuing them. The throne and robes of Edward the Confessor on the coins of what is called the Sovereign type correspond with those outlined on the famous tapestry of Bayeux, while the device appearing on the reverse of the same issue, namely, four birds in the angles of a cross, formed the model for the arms assigned to that King by the heralds of Richard II.'s time.

Even if the representation of the King's bust on the first issue of Henry II.¹ be intended for a portrait, it is certain that with his next

¹ See plate of the early coinage of Henry II. facing p. 96.

issue and onward to the reign of Henry VII., the heads of the Sovereigns became merely conventional drawings. Valuable contributions to our earliest heraldry, and information as to costume and armour and regal insignia, are also obtainable from our later coins.

The series of Anglo-Gallic coins exhibits in a marked degree the different phases of the possessions of our Plantagenet and later Sovereigns in France, the spread of these territories through marriage alliances and conquest, till their greatest extent in the reign of Henry V., and their continuance, diminution and almost total loss in the reign of his immediate successor. Though Henry V. was the only English King who could with any justice be termed also King of France, the title was continued in use by all our Sovereigns until the reign of George III., and duly appears upon their coins.

Henry VIII. preserves a record of some of his many matrimonial ventures on his coins, for his golden crowns and half crowns bear the initials, on either side of the Tudor rose and Royal shield, of his own name in conjunction with his consorts Katharine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour.

The beautiful coins of Charles I. trace the history of his struggle with the Parliament. His presence at Shrewsbury,¹ Oxford,² Bristol, and elsewhere is evidenced by their coins, and the siege pieces issued at Beeston Castle, Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Pontefract, and Scarborough all bear witness to the pleasant and uniform tale of Royalist devotion, continued at Pontefract until, after his tragic end, the sceptre had passed to the younger Charles. The coins of the Commonwealth³ betoken the simple tenets of the time, whilst the beautiful pattern series of Cromwell, the work of Thomas Simon, clearly shows the intention of that strong ruler of men to be a monarch *de facto* under the style of Protector. His bust adorned with a laurel wreath suggests rather the Emperor of Roman days than the simple patriot of Huntingdon, but it was a grim irony of fate which caused the die of his crown-piece to crack in the striking, and so raise a great weal across the neck of his portrait !

¹ See No. 16 of plate facing p. 378.

² See illustration on p. 165.

³ See illustration on p. 166.

An intelligent and careful study of the coins themselves, taken in conjunction with the association in different finds of certain types only, and aided where such exist by the evidences of early records, enables the numismatologist to ascertain the successive issues of the types, and to add materially to our historical knowledge of the Saxon and Norman periods of our national being, the progress of the Nation, and the vicissitudes of its trade and fortunes.

The coins of the Danish Kings of Northumbria portray the Raven Standard and the hammer of Thor, soon to be superseded by the Christian emblem of the cross,¹ and when York had passed under the sway of Æthelstan we have its Cathedral Church outlined as a reverse type.

It is interesting to note that the hammer of Thor by a slight change was readily converted into a Mitre-like figure, while the sword on the coins of St. Peter of York was calculated to suit the taste of Christians and Pagans alike, the former regarding it as that of the Apostle, and the latter as the celebrated weapon of Odin.

The mediæval and later coins throw light on art, history, heraldry and commerce alike, while the tokens of the seventeenth century and even later times afford abundant information to the topographer and genealogist.

The coins of our colonies and other provinces constituting the British Empire record its history and expansion, whilst those of the early settlements in the territory of what are now the United States of America throw much light and interest on the first beginnings of that great sister Nation.

The coins of Scotland present a separate series until the date of the union effected under Queen Anne, although a little over a century before the crowns of both Scotland and England had vested by descent in King James VI.

The coins of Ireland throw some light on its partial occupation by the Danes, and its gradual absorption under the English crown, but the base character of the mediæval and later coins meted out to that unfortunate country by its English lords is a sad

¹ See Nos. 17-49 of the plates of types found at Cuerdale, facing pp. 16 and 20.

witness to its former oppression and ill-treatment; a state of things happily altered in the present day, but the evil growth from which is even now not quite extinct.

Within the scope of British Numismatics our series of medals claims careful attention, recording as it does many events of nationally historic importance, preserving the records and portraits of many famous men and the deeds that won them fame, and also giving illustrations of art, heraldry and personal incidents in times both present and gone by. The war medals record not only our national victories, but the personal achievements of our ancestors and living relatives alike.

The above are only a few of the reasons why it is clearly most desirable that our public institutions, universities and schools alike, should encourage the study of British Numismatics by calling the attention of students, young and more mature, to the advantages and aids to knowledge and education that can be obtained by the study and intelligent collection of our British coins, medals and tokens. The mere aggregation and hoarding as specimens of impressed discs of metal without intelligent study or knowledge, are occupations of the same character as, though far more costly than, the collection of buttons by some eccentric.

Yet some anonymous "journalists" of the antiquarian press have pretended, with wanton innocence, to regard numismatologists as being almost entirely composed of this order of person. But the day is not far distant when the advanced students of our subject will almost be justified in saying, "show us the coinage of a nation and we will write its history."

How much is the general want of appreciation of British Numismatics disclosed by the circumstance that a scarce colonial postage stamp of the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria will find a purchaser at £1,000 or more, whereas a unique specimen of the coinage of some Saxon King or Prelate is thought well sold at £50; while ordinary, but in all cases, most interesting specimens of our British, Saxon, Norman, and later coinages are within the reach of those who barter in silver rather than gold.

The explanation must be that the true interest, worth and

significance of British Numismatics have hitherto not been made known to the general public. The science has been tied up in the charge of those who have devoted their energies to the elucidation of the money of any paltry state, rather than face the historical importance of the great coinage of Britain, which in the making of its sovereign, as the standard currency of the world, has made its Empire and its trade of to-day.

But for the efforts of some few private individuals, the pages relating to British Numismatics would be chiefly conspicuous by their absence. This it is confidently trusted will, in course of time, be remedied by the volumes of this Journal, for no other country has hitherto shown such indifference to the knowledge of its own money.

That something can be accomplished towards remedying the defects of lethargy, want of teaching and spreading the knowledge of the manifold interests and advantages attaching to British Numismatics is evidenced by the fact that whereas, prior to the formation of the British Numismatic Society, the highest number of ordinary members ever attained by the longest established numismatic society in London was less than 300, the British Numismatic Society has, within one year of its inauguration, attained its full complement of 500 ordinary members and has many applicants for membership awaiting vacancies to arise.

That the study of Greek, Roman and foreign numismatics is of great importance and interest should be a self-evident proposition, but the need, now supplied, of a society for the special study of British Numismatics is a fact which has been, happily, very abundantly proved by the success attendant on the formation of this Society, and the inclusion within the scope of its work of the coinages of the sister nation of America has effected a numismatic bond between the two great English-speaking nations of the world, which cannot fail to be of mutual interest and advantage to their citizens.

The pages of this Journal are open to all. All are invited to contribute to them, and the interest and importance of the papers received will be the only gauge in their selection for publication.

BURIED TREASURE :

SOME TRADITIONS, RECORDS AND FACTS.¹

BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A., *Honorary Secretary.*

FOR ages before the discovery of the art of writing, man was solely dependent upon oral tradition for whatever knowledge of the past, or even rudiments of religious or superstitious belief he possessed. The conversational powers of primitive man, in such limited form as they may have existed, would thus be restricted to the recounting of passing events and emotions in his own experience, and the relation, over and over again, of those traditions which had similarly been handed down to him. Hence, by concentration, his mind would develop a perfection of memory far in advance of its more useful powers of invention, construction, and thought for the future ; and it may be that our inborn contempt for a falsehood has descended to us from that early period when tradition and accuracy were a synonym. Some of these legends must have been told and re-told from almost the oblivion of time ; for, throughout the globe, nearly every race of mankind² has preserved a precise tradition of some overwhelming flood of a remotely geological past.

Perhaps it was to illustrate his stories that Palæolithic Man carved the pictures of the mammoth and other contemporary animals on pieces of ivory and bone ; and, as time went on, and language developed, a natural attempt would be made to present word-pictures to the mind and harmony to the ear, until oral tradition attained its

¹ Under this heading the writer contributed a paper to the British Archæological Association, printed in New Series, vol. ix, p. 8 of its *Journal*, and which forms the nucleus of the present much extended treatise.

² *The Mammoth and the Flood*, by Sir H. H. Howorth, chap. xiv.

perfection in the poems of Homer. Thus, poetry and song became the cradle of religion, tradition, and history. We find them in the Song of Miriam and in the Psalms of David, in the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, and in the sagas of the Northmen; in the festivals of the Orientals, and in the war-dance of the savage: for every race of man is subservient to their stirring influences.

Most of our early traditions are therefore preserved to us in rhyme, and, the older they are, the more probable is it that their foundation rests upon truth. Their subjects are varied; but those which concern us for the moment are limited to the deposit of treasure within our own Isles. That there is nothing racial in the character of such folk-lore is at once apparent from the fact, that to four familiar instances which have been verified, each of the three kingdoms and principality contributes its share. They are too well known to require more than a brief reminder of the confidence which such legends warrant, before passing on to the theories of this Paper.

At Buckton Castle—an earthwork following the natural lines of the summit of that hill on the borders of Yorkshire and Cheshire—an ancient tradition tempted the country-people in 1730 to spend days in fruitless search, with pick and shovel, for the missing treasure which lay hidden there. The saw is, as usual, in rhyme; but as its modern rendering is not in harmony with the character of these pages, it needs no repetition here. Since then, accident has twice disclosed some verification of the legend; for, in the middle of the eighteenth century, various ornaments and a chain of gold beads were discovered at the foot of the hill;¹ and, half a century later, a number of similar gold beads were found close to the camp, and examined by the grandfather of the writer.

Ireland supplies the oft-quoted example of the verification of the Celtic ballad of *Moirá Borb*, the revised version of which is—

“In earth beside the loud cascade,
The son of Sora's king we laid,
And on each finger placed a ring
Of gold by mandate of our king.”²

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 88.

² *Book of Days*, vol. i, p. 338.

Another verse speaks of "plates of pure gold over his breast and back." The "loud cascade" suggested a tumulus at the famous waterfall—the Salmon Leap—at Ballyshannon, and a search resulted in the discovery of a skeleton and two plates of pure gold, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, chased with Celtic ornamentation of probably the eighth or ninth century, and which had doubtless been riveted upon a leather hauberk.

Near Mold, North Wales, was a cairn known as Bryn-yr-Ellylon, which means "The Goblin, or Fairy Mound." As its name implies, it was the subject of ancient superstition, and a spectre "of unusual size, clothed in a coat of gold which shone like the sun," was said to have been seen entering it. In 1833, when the mound was removed, a skeleton was discovered lying beneath a beautifully wrought piece of highly-ornamented gold, 3 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches broad in the middle, which has been variously described as a corslet, a shield, and horse-armour.¹ The superstition, however, attached to this mound can only be explained by some lingering tradition, passed down through a thousand years, of the burial of this remote chieftain in all his splendour.

Scotland's contribution is the instance of Norries Law, a tumulus near Largo, in Fifeshire, where tradition had it that a leader of a great army lay buried in his *silver* armour, and from which, in 1819, was taken a quantity of "curiously-wrought antique silver, including a shield, the silver mountings of a sword, and numerous lozenge-shaped scales of the same metal, which no doubt had been stitched to a leather hauberk."

ROMAN RIBCHESTER.

Two ancient traditions are still told in the old-world town of Ribchester—on the Ribble, eight miles north-east of Preston—one of which is, that its great Roman fortification was finally overthrown by the Picts and Scots, and its defenders burnt within it. Recent excavations by Mr. John Garstang, F.S.A., have verified this story ; for

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, pp. 422-431.

he has discovered a layer of charcoal remains in all quarters of the fort, interspersed with human bones.¹

Then it would be that the so-called helmet, now in the British Museum, was lost or hidden for safety. It is one of the finest specimens of Roman bronze workmanship ever discovered ; but, as a helmet, it is impossible, for its wearer would be helpless, and smothered within it. Dr. Whitaker long ago realised this, when he suggested that it might be the head of a statue to Minerva. Tacitus tells us that when the statue of Victory fell at Camulodunum (Colchester), the head turned round, which is evidence, not only of the custom of erecting such statues in England, but also of the fact that the head was not cast as part of a solid statue. The metal work found at Ribchester, therefore, probably covered a wooden figure, and, as a life-sized bronze finger has also been discovered there, it seems highly probable that the Ribchester relic was the head of the statue of Mars, to whom, as Mr. Garstang has demonstrated, a temple in the fort was dedicated. The head is a complete carving of the human face, with ears, eyes, lips, etc., wearing a helmet decorated with battle subjects, and there are rings for its suspension (probably to stay it within the temple), and fastenings to attach it to the body of the statue.

THE CUERDALE HOARD.

The second tradition of Ribchester is famous because of its apparent exaggeration. Camden quotes it as :—

“It is written upon a wall in Rome
Ribchester was as rich as any town in Christendome.”

And adds that “where so many marks of Roman antiquity, as statues, coins, pillars, pedestals, chapiters, altars, marbles, and inscriptions are commonly dug up, this hobbling rhyme of the inhabitants does not seem to be altogether groundless.” Later writers have invariably adopted Camden’s explanation of the couplet and the error has remained unquestioned for three hundred years. But

¹ “Roman Ribchester,” by John Garstang, p. 4, and “The Ribchester Temple,” in *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society*, 1903.

apart from its improbability, the use of the word "Rome" as a place-name in an old English rhyme should, ere this was written, have raised a suspicion of the true meaning. This would have become obvious upon comparison with the remarkably similar couplet in a MS. ballad, known as *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 1842, p. 6:—

"Yt ys [written] in the boke of Rome
Ther was no Knyght of Krystendome," etc.

In both cases, therefore, the "Wall of Rome" and the "Boke of Rome" mean nothing more than the pages of *romance*, and in the ballad the phrase is so used in no fewer than ten instances, *e.g.*, another verse is:—

"Ase the boke of Rome tellys
They tornyd xxxij tymys
In armys walloyng fast
Yt tellythe in the boke of Rome."

Torrent of Portugal is one of the valuable manuscripts preserved in the Chetham's Library at Manchester. It is on paper of the fifteenth century, but, as its editor is careful to inform us, it

contains so many obvious blunders and omissions that it may be conjectured with great probability to have been written down from oral recitation . . . it was probably, like the second copy of the romance of Horn, a modernised version of an older English romance which was translated from the French.¹

That Halliwell is right in this view is abundantly proved by comparison with our early ballads. Running through nearly all these, and from the very earliest times, is the constant recurrence of the phrase "As the Romance tells."² We find it in *Giraldus Cambrensis* and even in the ancient poem *Merlin* under the form "So the Romauns seyth elles where."

The term applies to the *Roman* or *Romance* language which according to Ellis "began to supersede the Latin as a colloquial language in Gaul about the beginning of the ninth century," and he adds that the invasions of the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries

¹ *i.e.*, Norman-French.

² The ballad, *Sir Bevis of Hampton*.

resulted in its division into an almost infinite number of dialects. The *Song of Rolland* chanted by the minstrel Taillefer on the battle-field of Hastings was in this language as, indeed, were all the metrical romances of that day. When, therefore, our early minstrels translated these Norman-French ballads into the English form in which they have been preserved to us, they constantly tell us that the "boke of Romance" is responsible for their story, *e.g.* :—

"As it is written in romaunce
And founden in books of antiquyté
At Seynt Denyse Abbey in Fraunce,
There as chronicles remembrede be."¹

There are a multitude of quotations to this effect ; but a careful, though necessarily not an exhaustive, search amongst these old ballads has not resulted in the discovery of any other instances of the use of the words, "boke of Rome" for "boke of Romaunce" than those in *Torrent*. As the earlier form of the word was *Roman* it follows that "book of Rome" should be an earlier form of the phrase than "book of romance," and as it occurs ten times in the manuscript, and the later form is entirely absent, *Torrent* may be assumed to be a very early poem. It is true that there are certain comparatively modern interpolations in it, such as the "maister-shepman's" story concerning the "forest of Brasille," which probably was the transcriber's own composition, but other verses have an early Norseman's ring in them which throws one's mind back to the Scandinavian Sagas of Wieland, the Smith, and to the mystic traditions of "Excalibur," the sword of Arthur, as instance the following :—

"Adolake, his good swerd
Thorow *Velond* wrought yt wase."

When we are told that "Adolake his good sword, by Wieland (the smith) wrought it was," the idiom is being carried back right through its mediæval and Norman phraseology to its origin in Danish and Saxon times, when the manufacture of iron weapons was still regarded as one of the wonders of the age. This is evidence that

¹ The ballad *Sir Ferumbras*.

when *Torrent* was first sung, verses from an older Saxon or Scandinavian minstrelsy were introduced, and this again proves the ballad in its original form to have been one of our earliest English metrical romances.

If, therefore, "the boke of Rome," can be traced to a remote period in English literature the expression, "wall of Rome" in the Ribchester couplet must be, at least, equally archaic, and it is no marvel that its meaning had been long forgotten in the days of Camden. The use of the term "wall" for book in the Ribchester version suggests even a still earlier period, for as a comparison, we, to-day, use the same idiom in the word *muniment* for an ancient record without a thought that its literal meaning is a *wall* or bulwark; but it may be that a corruption of *vellum*, a parchment or roll, into *vallum*, a wall, may explain the variant, but either explanation implies great antiquity to the saw.

Again, the Roman name for Ribchester was Bremetennacum, and therefore it was not until the advent of the Saxons or Danes that the place could have been called Ribchester, "the city on the Ribble," so the legend cannot well be earlier than the seventh or eighth century. This digression has now run its length, but its object has been to prove that all associations of the Ribchester tradition with the coincidence of its Roman history must go by the board, that the origin of the old rhyme probably dates from Saxon times, and that it can only be read, "It is written in the pages of romance, Ribchester was as rich as any town in Christendom."

Such is the tradition as it has been handed down to us by the inhabitants of Ribchester. But it is only one version of the story, for another is told by the people who live a few miles lower down the Ribble, at Walton-le-Dale. Here, it was always reputed that if you stood on the headland and looked up the valley of the Ribble, *towards Ribchester*, you would gaze over the greatest treasure that England had ever seen. So firmly was belief in the truth of the legend impressed on the minds of the farmers that several attempts were made to discover the treasure: indeed, only some thirty years before its discovery, one of them ploughed a field near the actual site, twice

over in the same furrows, in the hope of gaining the trove ; and Major Creeke tells us of a story that in still an earlier search the services of the divining-rod had been enlisted for this purpose. Even after the discovery the country people were far from satisfied, for they had faith in their tradition, and believed that it was but a foretaste of what was to come.¹ Read together, these two ancient traditions record the memory of the loss of a great treasure somewhere in the valley of the Ribble between Walton and Ribchester ; and for the discovery of which there is ample evidence that repeated attempts were made.

Where intention failed, accident succeeded. On the 15th of May, 1840, some workmen were employed in repairing the southern bank of the Ribble close to Cuerdale Hall, and for this purpose were removing earth at a distance of about forty yards from the river, when they discovered within three feet of the surface of the pasture, the most valuable treasure ever found on English soil. To commemorate the site a willow tree was subsequently planted and is now at its prime. It faithfully complies with the tradition, for if you stand upon the head-land, on which is Walton Church, looking towards Ribchester, the tree is in full view, and only a mile away. The real extent of the Cuerdale hoard will never be known, for much was dispersed by the finders. What was ultimately recovered has been described as a mass of silver consisting of ingots, armlets, amulets, neck chains, rings and other ornaments weighing 1,000 ozs., exclusive of over 7,000 silver coins. This may be estimated at perhaps three-quarters of the true treasure trove, although contemporary newspaper reports doubled the quantity. The whole was enclosed in a leaden case within a strong wooden chest, both of which, however, were so decomposed that, as we are told, a portion of the earth under the spot where the treasure lay having been previously removed, they were crushed to pieces by the fall aided by the weight of the superincumbent soil.

Of the coins examined the following is a comprehensive summary, and is based upon that given by Mr. Hawkins, but, especially in the case of the smaller figures, it can only be accepted as proportionate ; comprising, perhaps, three-quarters of the real number.

¹ Charles Hardwick's *Traditions, Superstitions and Folklore*, p. 252.



TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT CUERDALE.
IX.-X. CENTURIES.

PI. I.

ENGLISH.

Athelstan of East Anglia	...	...	...	24
Ceolwulf II. of Mercia	..	...	...	2
Ethelred	...	...	...	3
Alfred the Great	...	...	...	919
Edward the Elder...	...	...	...	51
Archbishop Ceolnoth	...	...	...	1
„ Ethelred	...	...	...	1
„ Plegmund	...	...	...	59
Total English —				1,060

NORTHUMBRIAN.

Ecclesiastical	...	...	...	2,020
Earl Sitric	...	...	...	2
Siefred	...	...	...	238
Alwald	...	...	...	1
Cnut...	...	...	...	2,534
Halfdan	..	...	...	2
Total Northumbrian —				4,797

CONTINENTAL.

Principally French but some German and Italian	1,047
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ORIENTAL.

Various	31
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ILLEGIBLE.

About	65
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Grand total examined 7,000

It was evidently a Viking treasure, for the bulk of the coins had been issued by the Danish Kings of Northumbria, whose headquarters were at York, and very many of them bore the name of that city as their mint, or place of origin. When we remember how rarely coined money was in demand in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that it was not until two hundred years later that even the king's taxes were paid in cash, we may be quite certain that this was no private hoard, for none but an army or government could at that time have possessed so

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much coined money—to say nothing of the silver ingots—and therefore, taking all the circumstances together, we may safely assume that it was the treasure chest of a Danish army. It may not be the only chest buried or lost at Cuerdale, but with it alone Ribchester in those days, so far as actually *coined* money was concerned, would have been one of the richest towns in Christendom.

It will be noticed that amongst the Anglo-Saxon money examined were nine hundred and nineteen specimens of the coinage of Alfred the Great and fifty-one of that of Edward the Elder, whose reign was the latest disclosed in the hoard. There was also a considerable quantity of Continental money, evidently gathered from the western coasts of Europe, especially from the districts at the mouth of the Seine. It is therefore quite possible to ascertain the actual date of deposit, almost to a year. Mr. Hawkins, in 1843, “came to the conclusion that this great mass of coins was deposited somewhere about the year 910”; and although in *Silver Coins of England*, he subsequently modified this to “about 905,” in which he has been followed by the *British Museum Catalogue*, his first deduction was, as we shall see, very nearly correct. It was the custom of the Saxon kings to issue fresh coinages every three or four years, and we know that Edward the Elder issued six: for omitting mere varieties, we have six distinct types representing the twenty-four years of his reign. Hence as three of these were found at Cuerdale it follows (for a treasure until hidden or lost would be constantly augmented by coins of the most recent issues), that to crowd these three coinages into the first four years of the king's reign, and to deduce the year 905, is impossible. The third type was certainly current at the date of deposit, and so we may take the true date to be between 909 and 912. The hoard tells us a little more. It will be noticed that the proportions of King Alfred's coins to those of Edward the Elder were eighteen to one, and it was no doubt this undue proportion which prompted Mr. Hawkins to reconsider his original date. There can, however, be but one explanation of this, namely: that the Vikings had gathered the bulk of the English portion of the treasure late in the reign of King Alfred, who died in 901; that they had then proceeded to the districts at the mouth of

the Seine, where they had levied the large French section of it; and that at the date of deposit they had but very recently returned to England, to add the comparatively few specimens of King Edward the Elder, all of which were current in 909–912. That this is an unbiased assumption may be shown by two quotations from Mr. Hawkins' account of the find, for he, at least, had no theory to prove, and yet he seems to have arrived at the same conclusion through totally different channels of observation: "it may be supposed," says he, "that the Cuerdale treasure was deposited upon the arrival in the neighbourhood of the party or parties who brought it from a distance"—"there is every appearance of this treasure having been collected in the south, and transferred in one mass to the place of its deposit."¹

The remainder and great bulk of the coins consisted of the current money issued under the Danish kings and ecclesiastics of Northumbria. In this section were two coins bearing the name of a King Halfdan, which, according to a common custom of the time, were imitations of two of the types of Alfred the Great. Nothing proves more clearly the falsity of the supposed date of 905, than the amusing straits to which its exponents have been put to explain the presence in the hoard of these two coins. Prior to that year, the only recorded king of the name was the Viking chief who raided London in 874, and to him they are assigned in *The Silver Coins of England* without comment. But in 1893 a new theory was advanced which although it recognised that (with the exception of one class) "all the coins which were struck by or under the influence of Scandinavian conquerors in England, are no more than debased imitations of the current coinage of the country,"² it reversed its own rule in order to accommodate these two coins, one of which, we are told, "is without doubt a coin of Halfdan struck at this period [874] in London";² and it is suggested that Alfred—of all kings—imitated it for his famous monogrammic coinage of London [figs. 7–12]. This is the peroration, "This first London monogram, then, was introduced [by Halfdan] in A.D. 874. But Halfdan only remained a short time in London. It is

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v, pp. 45 and 98.

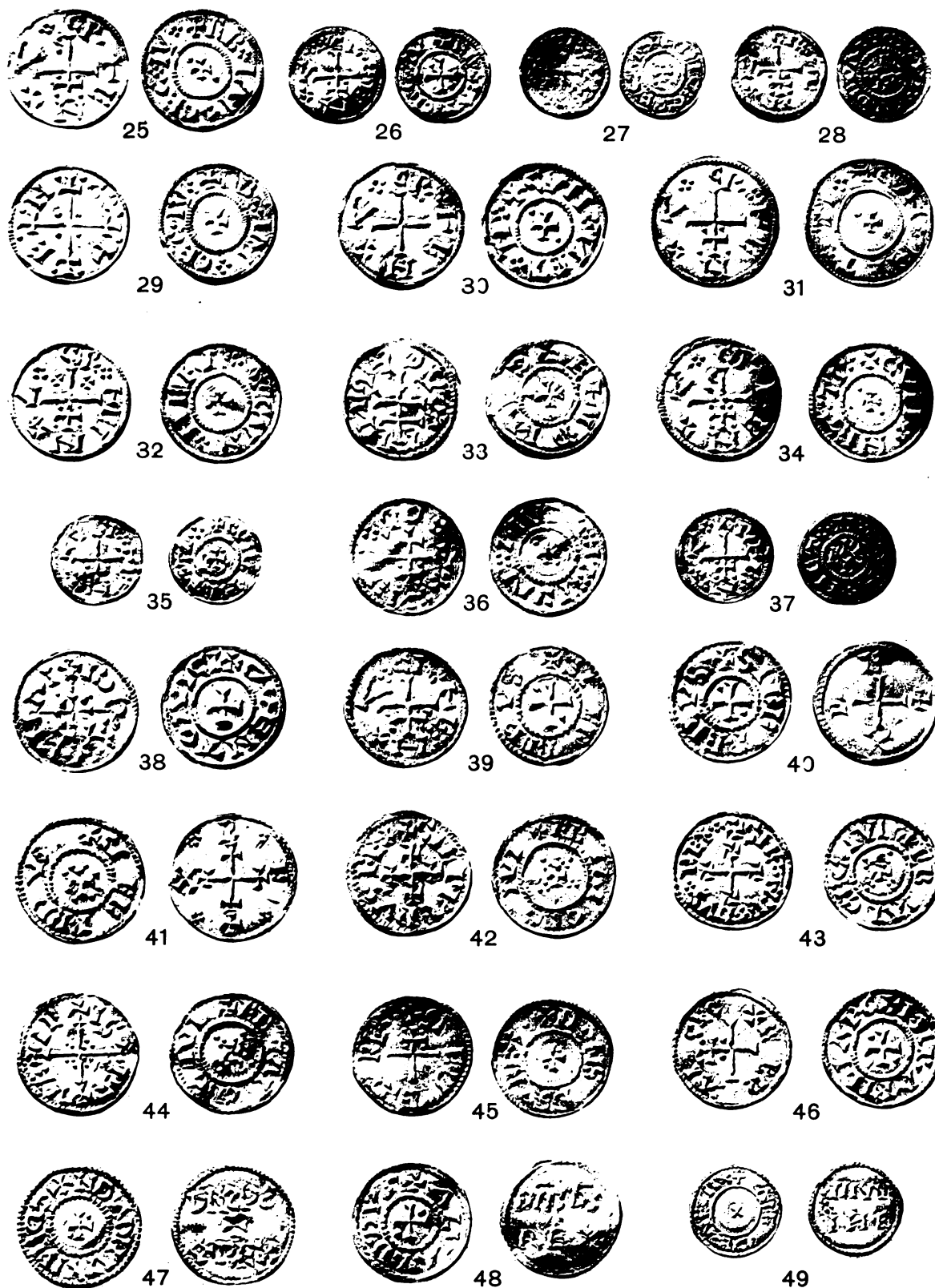
² *British Museum Catalogue*, II, xxxvii, cxxiii, and xxxiv.

highly probable that after his departure the Londoners continued to strike coins with this monogram, but placed upon it (*sic*) the head and name of Alfred."¹ What their own king, Ceolwulf II., thought about this we are not told, nor why the bashful Alfred, after so plain a hint that London was going a-begging for him, "never was near London" until years afterwards. Nevertheless our mentor will have it that "we must consider Halfdan the originator of this important type in the coinage of Alfred."¹ Any explanation of the other of the two coins, however, which is also assigned to the same Halfdan, is left severely alone, because it is a *halfpenny*; and, if it is a coin of that Halfdan, it is the first halfpenny ever known in England. So we are asked to believe that London is indebted to an Hiberno-Danish marauder—who came to take, not to make—for the origin of the custom of placing its name upon our money, and that Alfred selected these two little strangers in the hoard, the assumed inventions of his racial foe, the one for the prototype of his *subsequent* London coinage, and the other for that of the whole halfpenny series itself. Truly, Halfdan was a great monetary reformer. But, in 1899, the first theory is abandoned, to give place to a second which is worthy of Sir Boyle Roche himself. It is that the penny in question "was probably struck by Halfdan during his occupation of London in 874,"² for "the reverse type is similar to that of the London coins of Alfred, of which it may have been a *copy*," and that the halfpenny *is* copied from coins of Alfred, and was probably issued about the same time as the preceding piece."² Yet we had just been informed in the same work that Burgred and Ceolwulf II. were then successively Kings of that portion of England,² and that King Alfred had nothing whatever to do with London until the year 886, when, for the first time, his "coins with the London monogram were struck," or 12 years after the Halfdan *copies* were made. After these very Hibernian achievements, Halfdan, as we are naïvely reminded by the serious exponent of this remarkable theory, was expelled and returned to *Ireland*.² In 1903³ the same writer harks

¹ *British Museum Catalogue*, II, xxxvii and xxxix.

² *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 17.

³ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903, pp. 352-3.



TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT CUERDALE.

PI. II.

IX-X CENTURIES.

back and assures us that "As a rule the Viking coins struck at this time, south of the Humber, were copied from English types ; but this monogram type of London could well have been an exception¹ . . . We may therefore take it that the London monogram type was instituted by Halfdan and continued by Alfred."² Why not suggest, at once, that Halfdan was Alfred's godfather ?

It was advisable to point out these little errors of date and consequent misappropriation of the two coins, before the theory to account for the actual loss of the Cuerdale treasure could be accepted. But if we now transfer the coins from Halfdan I. to King Halfdan II. of 911, mentioned below, no contradictions or bulls are necessary to meet the facts of the case.

The Cuerdale treasure had evidently been collected in four sections, and its internal evidence would meet the following propositions for such collection. First, in England late in the reign of Alfred the Great, say 890-97 ; second, on the coasts of France and in the districts at the mouth of the Seine from 897 to 910 ; third, in Northumbria in 911 for the expenses of a raid into England ; fourth, in Mercia in that year during the raid.

With these points in view, a reference to the chronicles of the period should offer some explanation of the loss of the treasure :—

- 897. "In this year the (Danish) army went, some to East Anglia, some to Northumbria ; and they that were moneyless got themselves ships, and went south over sea to the Seine.
- 910. "And a great fleet came hither from the south, from the Lidwicas [Brittany] and greatly ravaged by the Severn ; but they there, afterwards, almost all perished.
- 910. "In this year the Angles and Danes fought at Tettenhall on the VIIth of the Ides of August, and the Angles gained the victory.
- 911. "In this year the army in Northumbria broke the peace . . . and harried over the Mercian's land . . . When the King learned that they [the Northumbrians] had gone out to ravage, he sent his force, both from the West Saxons and from the Mercians, and *overtook* the army when it was returning homeward, and fought

¹ The obverse type is also copied from a coin of Alfred.

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903, pp. 352-3.

against them and put the army to flight, and slew many thousands of them; and there was [were] King Eowils slain and King Hålfðan, and Ottar jarl [the Earl] and Skurfa jarl and Othulf hold [the governor] and Benesing hold and Olaf [Anlaf] the Black and Thurferth hold and Osferth 'hlytte' [the Collector of the Revenue, or Treasurer] and Guthferth hold and Agmund hold, and Guthferth."¹

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was a contemporary history, is quite clear that there were two battles, one fought by the Angles, and the other by the West Saxons and Mercians, and that the battle in which the two kings Eowils and Halfdan were slain was not that of Tettenhall. Florence of Worcester, who wrote in the twelfth century and other later chroniclers, confuse the two as one, and call it the battle of Wodnesfeld.² But Wodnesfeld (now Wednesfield) was only another name for Tettenhall, as the two villages in Staffordshire, in which county Florence tells us Tettenhall was, practically adjoin. Any doubts are, however, dispelled by Ethelwerd, who gives the date of Wodnesfeld as being the eighth of the ides of August, which, as we have seen, was that of Tettenhall. The latter account adds that the battle commenced as the Danes were withdrawing homewards with their spoil, and passing over a bridge on the eastern bank of the Severn, usually called Cantbridge. Cambridge, near Berkley, in Gloucestershire, is generally accepted for this place, but is far too remote to be connected with the battle. Ethelwerd, alone, tells us that King Hingwar also fell at Wodnesfeld, and Florence mentions that the Kings Eowils and Halfdan were brothers of King Hingwar. The brothers Hingwar and Halfdan are first mentioned under the year 878, but then as merely Danish chiefs. They were possibly sons of Halfdan I., of 874-77, as he was a chief as early as in 855, and slain in 882-3.³

When the Danish army divided in 897, it is probable that the elder, or at least first-named, brother Hingwar, would return to Northumbria, and that King Halfdan commanded the fleet which sailed

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls Series, vol. i, pp. 174, 175, 184, 185, vol. ii, pp. 73, 77, 78.

² *English Historical Society*, 23, pp. 120, 121.

³ Simeon's *History of the Church of Durham*.

to the Seine. Assuming the Cuerdale chest to be the paymaster's chest of Halfdan's army, it would, in spite of his being described as "moneyless," probably contain sufficient of Alfred's coinage to pay current expenses, which would in turn have gradually been changed for, or augmented by, the money current in France during the thirteen following years, whilst that country was the scene of Halfdan's operations. This would account for the large proportion of French coin in the hoard. In 910 the fleet returned from Brittany, and landed its army by the Severn. It was to join forces with his brother Halfdan on his march overland, that King Hingwar no doubt advanced from Northumbria into Staffordshire, and suffered defeat at Tettenhall. Whether the two armies had already come together before that battle is immaterial; but Hingwar was slain, and the remnants of the army returned to Northumbria. In the natural order of events, King Halfdan, whose original territory may have included Lincolnshire and part of East Anglia, would succeed his brother in Northumbria, probably at York; and if one may speculate on so indefinite a subject, Eowils the third brother would hold the country north of the river Tyne: for, in 876, Halfdan I. had so divided Northumbria into two kingdoms.¹

In 911 the English King was engaged in fitting out an expedition by sea, which was probably intended against Northumbria; so, the Danish Kings, thinking "they could go unopposed whithersoever they wished,"² collected their forces for another raid into Mercia. Then, no doubt it was that the bulk of the money would be drawn from the York and Chester-le-street treasuries for the payment of the troops, and so we find nearly five thousand coins in the hoard, representing a coinage then only current in Northumbria. The Danes advanced into Mercia, and "harried the land"; but, on hearing of the forces raised against them, they retreated without offering battle. That the raid was on the western side of England seems certain, for the West Saxons and Mercians were sent against it. All authorities agree that the West Saxons and Mercians "*overtook*" the Northumbrian army as it was "returning homewards" from Mercia; which expression is

¹ Simeon of Durham, Anno 876.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Anno 911.

wholly inapplicable to the site of Tettenhall and Wednesfield. The Viking force had probably taken the same direction as in the previous year, and its retreat would follow the Roman road which crosses Cheshire and Lancashire to the "Pass of the Ribble" at Walton le Dale, and thence branches to York and Carlisle. The expression above quoted would therefore exactly tally with the Northumbrian army being overtaken on the confines of the debatable land between the Mersey and the Ribble, owing to the delay caused by the crossing of the latter river into Northumbria proper.

Simeon of Durham practically tells us that this was the fact, for he says :—

"The indomitable King Edward, because the Danes had broken the peace which they had made with him, sent an army of West Saxons and Mercians *into Northumbria* ; who, when they came there, slew many of the Danes, and compelled their kings and chiefs to renew with King Edward the peace which they had broken."

It must be remembered that the burial of this great army chest was an event which could not have been forgotten by those concerned, and therefore only one explanation of its never having been recovered is possible. That explanation must be the sudden death of those who hid it. Surely, the person directly responsible for its safety was Osferth, *the treasurer* or paymaster, and he, as the chronicles tell us, was slain in the battle. This coupled with the date and character of the hoard, is strong evidence of the identification of the treasure with the battle, and it is strengthened by the presence in it of the two coins of King Halfdan II., also one of the slain. The chronicle of Ethelwerd, as already demonstrated, confused the battles of 910 and 911 as one event, but his description commences as follows :—

"When they (the Danes) had withdrawn homewards, rejoicing in the richness of their spoils, and passed over a bridge in regular order, on the eastern bank of the Severn, which is usually called *Cantbridge* ; the troops of the Mercians and West Angles suddenly met them in battle array."¹

¹ *Chronicle of Fabrius Ethelwerd*, by the Rev. J. Stevenson, pp. 437-38.

Without attaching too much importance to modern place-names it may be pointed out that within a mile of the place of deposit of the treasure, and upon the direct line from the Roman road to the ford at Cuerdale, is *Canbridge*, where the road crosses the River Darwen, at Higher Walton, which certainly agrees with Ethelwerd's account that the battle commenced as the Danes were passing over a bridge usually called Cantbridge. The Danes when overtaken would defend the crossing of the Darwen ; and half a mile higher up the river is a ford, a little below the conflux of the Beasting Brook. Here, perhaps, Benesing the Hold was slain, and gave his name to the brook, now corrupted to Beasting. Meanwhile, Osferth the treasurer and his men would hasten forward with their treasure chests to the ford over the Ribble at Cuerdale : for when that was passed they were once more safe in Northumbria and in that part of it which to-day is still known as Amounderness, or Agemundrenesse according to *Domesday*, after Agmund, the Hold, who, as mentioned in the chronicles, also fell in the battle ; and where the ancient road on the north side of the river is still called the " Danes' Pad."

Why Osferth the treasurer should choose this ford instead of that at Walton may have been because he was cut off from the latter, or because the river was in flood, or the tide high, and so he tried the passage higher up the river. The ford is, however, at its best dangerous, and has fallen into disuse, and no doubt he and his men found it impossible to carry the heavy wood and leaden chest with its silver contents across ; hence, exactly forty yards from the only place where the river is fordable, the treasure was hidden in the earth. This would again cause delay, and probably the victorious Saxons fell upon the fugitives ; for unless the latter could cross the ford they were caught in the centre of a bend in the river, and here Osferth and all those who had buried the chest would perish, and their secret would die with them. If but one had lived to tell the tale, the chest would assuredly have been recovered when possession of the district was regained by the Northumbrians ; but under the circumstances here pictured, those who had stayed to defend the rear at the crossing of the Darwen would know that their treasure was hurried away towards

the ford at Cuerdale ; that it never crossed the river with the remnants of the army ; and that their victors never rejoiced over its capture. Therefore, all they could tell was that, in accordance with the custom of their times, it must have been buried somewhere near the Cuerdale ford, on the southern bank of the Ribble, for it would be within their sight until the actual valley was reached. Hence, a tradition which has survived for nearly a thousand years, and some variation of which, probably in referring to a ford, suggested to the farmers of the district the selection of Cuerdale for the abortive search for the long-lost treasure.

It is curious that the moor which at that time would extend over the field of battle, still bears the remarkable name of "The *Anglezarke*," which is exactly what the Northumbrians would name it—The *Angle-saec*=The Battle of the *Angles*. Nevertheless modern etymologists derive the word from Anlaf's hargh, *i.e.*, the field or temple-hill of Anlaf. If they are right, and they base their derivation on a thirteenth century reading, the Anlaf referred to may have been Anlaf the Black, who was amongst those slain in the fight.

THE BEAWORTH HOARD.

On the 30th of June, 1833, was found in a field known as the "Old Litten," attached to the Manor House, at Beaworth, near Winchester, a leaden chest, or cylinder, containing, as Mr. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., our latest authority on the coinage of William I., and II., informs us, from 8,000 to 9,000 silver pennies of William the Conqueror. The coins were carefully packed in rolls, and the chest, which originally had been bound with iron, showed every indication of having been made for the express purpose of containing them.¹ The internal evidence disclosed that, although the coinages represented extended over a period of about twelve years, ceasing with the death of the King in 1087, the money was as fresh as when it came from the die. Specimens from the mints of nearly every county in England were present, and all were of full weight and pure silver. Hence we may almost infer that the money came from

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 218-19. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, I., p. 851, and from information kindly supplied by Mr. W. H. Jacob, of Winchester.



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PI. III.

TYPES OF COINS OF WILLIAM I. FOUND AT BEAWORTH.

XI. CENTURY.

the Royal Treasury at Winchester, and had consequently passed through the Exchequer tests which were held half-yearly at that city. This only would account for the extended sphere of its gathering ground, as the sheriffs brought the currency of every county to the Exchequer; and Malmesbury incidentally mentions that the coin in the Treasury was of the best quality. It must not be forgotten that in Norman times the silver penny was the only denomination of money coined.

Having arrived at some probability that these 8,000 to 9,000 pennies came out of the Winchester Treasury, which was only about six miles away, we have but to refer to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year of King William's death, to find a very natural explanation of their disbursement from the treasury.

"1087. William II. went to Winchester and inspected the treasury, and the riches which his father had before gathered; it was not to be estimated by any man how much was there gathered in gold and in silver, and in vessels, and in robes, and in gems, and in many other precious things which are difficult to recount. The King then did as his father had commanded him ere he died: he distributed the treasures for his father's soul, to every monastery that was in England; to some he gave ten marks of gold *and to others six*."¹

Presumably the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York received the ten marks, and each of the bishoprics and abbeys the six marks. But a mark of silver or gold was only a denomination, represented by so many silver pennies.

Now six marks of gold were 8,640 silver pennies, which would exactly tally with the "eight thousand to nine thousand pennies" found at Beaworth, and we may almost assume that this was the real number of coins contained in this hoard. The see of Winchester, as one of the principal bishoprics, would receive its share, and certain entries in the *Annals of Winchester*² raise more than a suspicion that the treasure which was found within six miles of the city, was the Conqueror's actual bequest to that church intact.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Rolls Series, 23, I., p. 356.

² *Annales de Wintonia, Annales Monastici*, vol. ii, pp. 36-9, or Stevenson's edition, pp. 357-59.

"1088. On the death of Ralph, Abbot of Winchester, the King assigned the abbey to Ralph Passeflabere [Flambard], his chaplain . . .

(1092). But the aforesaid Ralph, a man who exceeded all others in evil, rifled the churches that had been entrusted to him of all their property, and reduced both rich and poor to such a state of penury, that they deemed death itself preferable to life under his despotism."

"1090. *The King carried off a large treasure from the Church of Winchester.*"

1098. Death of Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester. "The King had given orders on the day of the Nativity of Our Lord, just after the commencement of the service of mass, that he should send him without a moment's delay £200. But he, well knowing that he could not do that at the moment, without plundering the poor, or rifling the treasury of the Church, was rendered weary of life by this *and other things of the like sort*; and having offered up a prayer, begged that he might be delivered from his unhappy existence; and this actually took place ten days afterwards . . . One thing occasioned him exceeding pain, namely, that he had deprived the monks of lands to the value of three hundred pounds [*'ad c. c. c. libratis terræ'*],¹ which he had appropriated to himself and his successors in the bishopric."

The spot where the treasure was found is within the curtilage of some ancient foundations. These would mark the site of a—if not *the*—residence of the Bishop of Winchester, for he and his predecessors held the Manor of Beaworth and had "a hall or palace there,"² just as the Bishops of Hereford had their palace at Ledbury, and the Archbishops of York theirs at Cawood. The manor house at Beaworth to which the Old Litten where the hoard was found was attached, is probably the modern survival of that hall. What is more likely than that the Bishop, to save it from the grasp of the extortionate Ralph Flambard, removed the Conqueror's bequest, in a chest made for the purpose, to his own residence outside the city, and buried it in secret; which was the usual precaution for safe-keeping in those days?

¹ *Librata terræ* may mean either land worth 20s. yearly, or 52 acres. See *Court Hand Restored*, p. 39.

² *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, p. 160. Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, I., p. 152.

Probably, in the year 1090, the King had demanded "a loan" of the treasure for the purposes of "his great bribes" to Philip of France in that year,¹ and the Bishop took the Conqueror's bequest from the treasury into his own custody ostensibly for the King, but with every intention of preserving it for the Church. This would account for the entry in the *Annals* that "the King carried off a large treasure from the Church of Winchester," for so it would be believed by the general body of the clergy and by the writer of the *Annals*. Even the greed of Rufus could not extort a confession of the hiding-place from a Bishop, but it would have fared badly with any less powerful participator in the concealment, so Walkelin would no doubt be the sole custodian of his secret. But in 1098 the King's patience was exhausted, and after "other things of the like sort," his orders became peremptory that the Bishop should personally pay £200 without a moment's delay. The claim had perhaps been increased owing to the procrastination of the Bishop, but it is significant that he should pray for death rather than rifle the treasury of the Church. His death was evidently sudden, and he may not have had an opportunity of divulging his secret. Nevertheless the story that "one thing occasioned him exceeding pain, namely, that he had deprived the monks of lands to the value of three hundred pounds which he had appropriated to himself and his successors in the bishopric," is so foreign to his general character that it raises a suspicion that he was endeavouring to reveal this treasure in his last moments but was misunderstood, and his secret died with him. The expression "appropriated to himself and his successors" would certainly tally with the deposit of the hoard within the precincts of his official residence.

Such coincidences as the nature of the treasure and its origin, its corresponding value and packing, its place and date of deposit, the curious entries in the *Annals*, and lastly, the sudden death of the Bishop, cannot all be accidental, but point to collective identification of the treasure with the Conqueror's bequest to the Church of Winchester.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Anno 1090.

THE NOTTINGHAM HOARD.¹

It is remarkable that a passage in the continuation of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, which seems to record the very incident of the loss of this treasure, should for so long have escaped attention. To quote the account of the discovery. In January, 1880, "some workmen, whilst making excavations at the back of old property in Bridlesmith Gate, Nottingham, for larger cellaring in connection with bonded stores, came upon a hoard of pennies,"² nearly two hundred in number, all being of the reign of King Stephen; with the exception of a very few of David, King of Scotland, and some twenty-three of Henry I.

The internal evidence of the hoard is curious. The coins had evidently at some time been subjected to an intense heat, for most of them were blistered and cockled by fire to such an extent that they can be identified in a collector's tray at sight, as the hundred specimens carefully preserved by Mr. G. H. Wallis, F.S.A., in the Castle Museum at Nottingham, will demonstrate. This is a feature peculiar to these coins, for no other find has ever disclosed anything of the kind. As they were found in the heart of the oldest part of the town, and in excavating for cellaring, we may assume that they were originally hidden or deposited in the basement of some then existing building. The date of deposit is ascertained with unusual accuracy, for two or three coins issued by the Empress Maud during her strife with Stephen for the Crown, were present. One of these was coined at Oxford and another at Winchester; and as it was not until March 3rd, 1141, that she was received into Winchester, and March 30th, into Oxford, the date must have been subsequent to that month. On the other hand, the find contained no specimens of any of the coinages current after December in the same year, so the date is narrowed down to between April and December, 1141.

Before quoting the passage from Florence, it may be remarked

¹ For a more detailed account of this hoard, see my *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, pp. 347-49, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1901.

² *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881.

that the chronicler rarely gives yearly dates, and the incident in question is inserted amongst some events which occurred in 1140. But this is corrected by the *Hexham Chronicle*, which places the event subsequently to the Battle of Lincoln (February 2nd, 1141). The references in the account to there being no force to defend the town, and to the Earl of Warwick, again prove this; for Nottingham's defenceless condition is explained by the fact that William Peverell, Stephen's Castellan of Nottingham, had been taken prisoner by Maud's forces at Lincoln, and the Earl of Warwick did not join her party until the spring of 1141. Hence the Earl of Gloucester must have carried out the raid during the siege of Winchester, namely, about September 8th of that year, which exactly agrees with the numismatic evidence of the date of deposit of the hoard.

"Before the Nativity of St. Mary [8th September] Robert, son of King Henry [the Earl of Gloucester], instigated by Ralph Paynell, taking with him the horsemen of the Earl of Warwick, with those he had brought from Gloucester, and very many private soldiers, suddenly raided the town of Nottingham; and finding no force to defend it, commenced to plunder it, the citizens from all quarters taking refuge in the churches. One of the citizens who was reputed to be of the wealthier class, was seized, and, being conducted under restraint to his house, was compelled to disclose his money. He, however, led his pillagers, who were only bent on spoil, into an underground chamber [*in subterraneum*] where all his household wealth was to be seen. Whilst they were intent on pillage and breaking open doors and bolts, he cunningly slipped away, and gaining the [upper] rooms [*cameras*], and thence the entrance [*aulam*], closed all the doors behind him, fastening them with bolts; then by setting fire [to his house] he consigned his property and all his household wealth, together with the pillagers themselves, to the flames. It is asserted that more than thirty men who had entered the underground chamber perished in that fire."¹

Comment is scarcely necessary, for a subterranean chamber within a house, even in Nottingham, "the City of Caves," must at that time have been of rare occurrence. "The Gate"—probably the Bridlesmith Gate where the treasure was found—is mentioned in the 1130 *Pipe*

¹ *Continuatio Chronici Florentii Wigorniensis*, Eng. Hist. Soc., 24, p. 128.

Roll, and Swein, the Moneyer of Nottingham, lived in it. One wonders whether he was not the hero of the story, for he would certainly be one of the first persons the freebooters would seek, and the terms "*subterraneum*," "*cameras*," and "*aulam*," convey more than the description of a private residence of a citizen. The coins, too, which bear his name—and their proportion was considerable—were, unlike many of the others, as fresh as from the die, and all of the latest coinage.

The fire extended and destroyed the whole of the town; and we are told that nearly all the inhabitants either perished in the flames and the tumult, or were carried into captivity; hence it is probable that no subsequent search was made for the money.

THE COLCHESTER, ECCLES AND SUDBOURNE HOARDS.

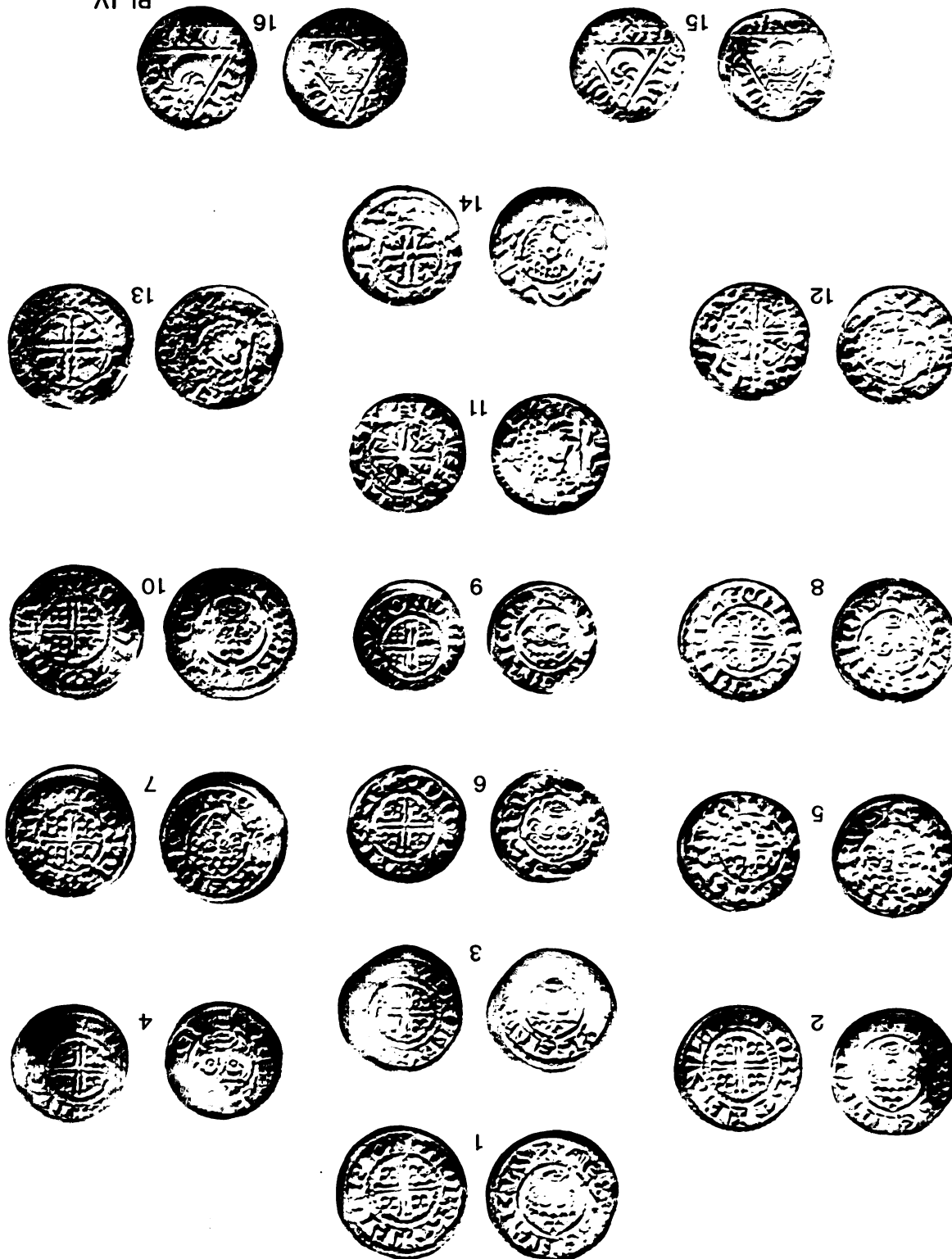
In July, 1902, at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches below the surface of the premises for the new London and County Bank, in High Street, Colchester, a leaden vessel containing about twelve thousand silver pennies was discovered. The coins, with the exception of about a proportion of three per cent., were of what is now known as the "Short Cross Series," that is, a uniform coinage of silver pennies bearing the legend *Henricus Rex*, which, as the late Mr. Longstaffe first suggested and Sir John Evans finally demonstrated, was the sole currency in England from the later years of the reign of Henry II., throughout the reigns of Richard I., and John, to the year 1248 in the reign of Henry III. [figs. 1-10]. Certain details in their workmanship have, however, enabled us to approximately assign them to the kings under whom they were actually struck.

Mr. Grueber, F.S.A., has published an excellent and exhaustive report upon this find,¹ of which he examined and describes 10,926 coins. Of these, two were of Henry I., one of Stephen, one hundred and sixty were Irish money of John [figs. 15-16], one hundred and fifty-five Scottish *sterlings* of William the Lion [figs. 11-14], and thirteen of his successor, Alexander II., twenty-three were foreign

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1903, p. 111.

TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT COLCHESTER, ECCLES & SUBBOURNE.
XII—XIII. CENTURIES.

Pl. IV.



deniers, including specimens of Munster and of the Emperors Otto IV. and Frederic II., and the remainder, namely, ten thousand five hundred and seventy-two, were pennies of the English Short Cross Series [figs. 1-10].

In August, 1864, a precisely similar find, though of approximately only half the quantity, was made at Monks' Hall, formerly a settlement or grange of the Abbey of Whalley at Eccles, near Manchester.¹ The coins which numbered 6,217, were contained in an earthenware bowl, and weighed 21 lbs. avoirdupois. They comprised one hundred and four Irish specimens of John, one hundred and ninety-six Scottish *sterlings* of William the Lion, four foreign *deniers* of Munster and of the Emperors Otto IV. and Frederic II., and the rest, namely, five thousand nine hundred and thirteen, coins of the Short Cross Series.

As evidence of the identity of these two hoards, Mr. Grueber furnishes the following table of the number of coins of the principal English mints which they contained.

Mint.	Eccles, 5,913 English.	Colchester, 10,572 English. ²
Canterbury	2,278	4,122
Exeter	19	48
Ipswich	18	34
Lincoln	58	100
London	2,643	5,096
Oxford	13	21
St. Edmundsbury	212	457
Winchester	142	247
York	96	153

It will be noticed that these proportions almost attain mathematical precision and, whatever the conditions were which accounted for the loss of the Colchester treasure, Mr. Grueber is quite justified in saying, "I am inclined to think that the Eccles hoard was buried under like circumstances." But the only suggestion he offers to account for their loss is "that the coins were stolen whilst the exchange [calling in

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1865, p. 219.

² This line is an addition to Mr. Grueber's table.

the old money in 1248] was proceeding, concealed and not recovered until unearthed" in modern times. This would, however, account neither for the curious similarity in the proportions of the contents of both hoards, nor for the coincidence of the hiding of two such treasures at the same date, but at two points so widely apart in locality. Moreover at no time would it be so difficult to abstract large sums of money from the exchequer, as when special attention was directed to it at the time of a general exchange; and such exchanges were always held at the mint towns where the new money was coined. Colchester had long ceased to be one of these, and no place was, perhaps, more unlikely or remote for such a purpose than Eccles at that time.

There is yet a third find to record, bearing the same curious proportions. This is described by Mr. L. A. Lawrence in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, pp. 235-244. It was discovered in France, and 574 of its coins were brought to England, and examined by Mr. Lawrence. Of these, two were Scottish *sterlings* of William the Lion, one was a foreign *denier* of Otto IV., and the remainder were of the same series of Short Cross pennies. Mr. Lawrence called attention to the remarkable similarity between the proportions of this hoard and those of the Eccles find.

To demonstrate how closely these proportions apply, we may tabulate the three finds in the following ratio, according to the number of coins they contained, France one, Eccles eleven, and Colchester nineteen, which, omitting fractions, gives us the following table:—

Principal English Mints.	France.		Eccles.		Colchester.	
	Actual.	Ratio.	Actual.	Ratio.	Actual.	Ratio.
Canterbury ...	215	215	2,278	2,365	4,122	4,085
Exeter ...	2	2	19	22	48	38
Ipswich ...	—	1	18	18	34	31
Lincoln ...	3	3	58	33	100	57

Principal English Mints.	France.		Eccles.		Colchester.	
	Actual.	Ratio.	Actual.	Ratio.	Actual.	Ratio.
London	269	269	2,643	2,959	5,096	5,111
Oxford	1	1	13	11	21	19
St. Edmundsbury ...	29	29	212	299	457	551
Winchester	10	10	142	110	247	190
York	8	8	96	88	153	152

These proportions cannot be accidental. Each of the finds contained nothing but coined money, and this in two, at least, of them was in far too great a quantity to represent any private hoard. The only explanation must be that some rate or contribution had been levied throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, large sums being taken from London and Canterbury, and smaller sums from the other places, that these payments were made in the money circulating in the respective localities, and that the whole was then carefully mixed together, and finally that these three finds were portions of the same collection. This careful mixing of the whole was an Exchequer custom of the period, and no doubt it equally applied to all cases where large amounts were tested and paid into any official treasury. The *Dialogue of the Exchequer* (temp. Henry II.) describes it thus :—

“When the money is sent to the Exchequer to be counted one of them diligently mixes the whole together, so that the better pieces may not be by themselves and the worse by themselves but mixed in order that they may correspond in weight.”

The presence of the foreign *deniers* and of the large proportion of Scottish coins proves the impossibility of these finds having any relation to the national treasury, for, as the *Dialogue* explains, the greatest care was taken to exclude anything of the kind.

The internal evidence of the date of the deposit of these three hoards is also identical, though the result is not so definite as in the previous instances quoted in this paper. All three contain coins

bearing the name *William Ta.* of Canterbury for William the king's tailor, who was appointed a moneyer at Canterbury in the year 1230. The deposit therefore was subsequent to that date, and not later than 1248, when the Short Cross Series ceased to be current. The foreign coins do not help us in this respect, for the latest of them may have been struck at any time between these dates. But the Scottish money does throw light upon the subject. Out of the aggregate of three hundred and sixty-six of these coins, only thirteen bear the name of Alexander II., the contemporary king of Scotland. Alexander had ascended the throne in 1214, therefore these finds tell us that a similar system to that of the Short Cross Series had prevailed in Scotland, for the coinage of William the Lion, Alexander's predecessor, must have been continued to be issued unchanged during the first half of the latter's reign: otherwise the proportions of the money of the two Kings would have been reversed. Alexander died in 1249, and as only one of the three distinct types which are known to have been issued by him appears in these finds, the date of their deposit cannot have been later than 1243, for that date would only allow six years for the remaining two. In Ireland it would appear that the money of John, who died in 1216, like the Short Cross Series, was also still being issued unchanged, therefore no evidence as to the date of deposit is forthcoming in this class. It is a little disappointing that the actual date of the concealment of these hoards cannot (at least, until our National Rolls of this period are printed) be deduced with more accuracy, but allowing some years for the issue of the very large quantities of the coins, present in the hoards, bearing the name of William the Moneyer of Canterbury, we can safely say that it was probably not earlier than 1235, nor later than 1243, which latter date is supported by the fact that the names of one or two moneyers who, we know, were appointed in 1245, are not present in the finds, and finally we may follow Sir John Evans, who, in 1865, deduced that the Eccles treasure was buried about 1240.¹

We will now turn to the places of deposit. Of the French hoard we have no particulars, but those found at Eccles and Colchester

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1865, p. 294.

again show a similarity in this respect. The former hoard was hidden in the precincts of the old *Monks' Hall* at Eccles, and the latter, as Mr. Rickword has so ably proved,¹ within the curtilage of the ancient "*Stone House*" at Colchester. The Monks' Hall was a religious house or grange under the Abbey of Whalley, but that Abbey was not founded until the year 1296. In 1235, however, John de Lacy had granted the advowson of the Church of Eccles with the lands, liberties and lay rights to the Abbot of Stanlaw. The Abbot held a grange or religious house here, and it is believed by all authorities that the settlement of monks at Monks' Hall was established by him.

The Stone House at Colchester should be compared with the "*Stone House*," mentioned in charters of this period and earlier, as being before the gates and belonging to the Monastery at Norwich, also with similar houses still existing, one of which, for example, is known as the *Jews' House* at Lincoln, another is at Grantham,² and another stands before the Abbey of Glastonbury. These were probably all either religious houses or *hospitia*, in connection with adjacent monasteries, and used for the entertainment of guests and travellers. Such, no doubt, were the Monks' Hall at Eccles, as a settlement of the Abbey of Stanlaw, and the Stone House at Colchester, as a *hospitium* for its Abbey.

To summarize the proposition before us, we have to account for the collection between the years 1235 and 1243, throughout nearly every county of England, and also in Scotland and Ireland, of some general rate or contribution which had evidently been received and mixed upon exchequer principles, but which did not pertain to the English Treasury. For a rate evidently collected³ in large proportions from the districts of London and Canterbury, in medium proportions

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, I, p. 116.

² Now the "Angel Inn." It was the property of the Knights Templars and "one of those ancient Hostleries, *Hospitia*, where Royal and other travellers were entertained." As such it was visited by King John. *Historical Notes of Grantham*.

³ The argument is not intended to be carried further than that in a payment made in a particular district, the money of the mint or mints of the locality would largely preponderate, and that no ordinary mixing in circulation could account for the same proportions appearing in three finds so widely separated in locality.

from those of St. Edmundsbury, Winchester, York, Norwich, and Lincoln, and in small proportions from Exeter, Ipswich, Oxford, Carlisle, Chichester, Durham, Wilton, and Chester (Rhuddlan).¹ For the hiding of, probably, a large proportion of the whole rate in sections, few of which only as yet have been discovered, but which seem to have been buried within the curtilage of religious houses. Finally, for the large proportion of coins which bear the *cross-pommée* mint mark [figs. 7 and 10]. This mark is clearly evidence that they were issued from the ecclesiastical mints, that is, that they were struck by the moneyers at the various places of coinage, who, by charter of privilege, represented and accounted to certain Bishops and Abbots instead of to the Crown. In most cases several moneyers representing the Crown, or its grantees, also coined at the same mints, hence only a small proportion of the coins could be expected to bear the ecclesiastical symbol. The *cross-pommée* itself no doubt represented the cross which was one of the symbols of investiture.

"Lay down thy cross and staff
Thy myter and thy ring I to thee gaff."²

The following table should prove this theory :—

Mints upon some of the coins of which the <i>cross-pom- mée</i> appears.				The Bishop or Abbot who is assumed to have issued them.	Reference.
Canterbury	...	...	...	The Archbishop of Canterbury	<i>Henry I.</i> , p. 134.
Chichester	...	...	...	The Bishop of Chichester	<i>Ruding</i> , II., p. 222.
Durham	...	...	...	The Bishop of Durham	<i>Henry I.</i> , p. 185.
Exeter	...	...	...	The Bishop of Exeter or the Prior of the Holy Trinity, London.	<i>Henry I.</i> , p. 194.

¹ This mint was established in the reign of William I. and its *Tertius denarius* was subsequently held by the Earl of Chester (see my *Numismatic History of Henry I.*, pp. 147 and 492). Its coins of the Short Cross Series bear the name RULĀ and usually the *cross-pommée* mint mark. The natural inference therefore is that the *Tertius denarius* of the mint had become vested in the Bishop of Chester and Coventry and that the coins bearing that mint mark were issued by him.

² See *Henry I.*, pp. 363-64.

Mints upon some of the coins of which the <i>cross-pommée</i> appears.				The Bishop or Abbot who is assumed to have issued them.	Reference.
Lincoln	...	...	...	The Bishop of Lincoln under a grant of a moneyer at Newark now probably removed here.	<i>Henry I.</i> , pp. 316-18.
London	...	...	...	The Abbot of Reading	<i>Henry I.</i> , pp. 371-76.
Norwich	...	...	...	The Bishop of Norwich	<i>Ruding</i> , II., p. 200.
Rhuddlan	...	...	...	The Bishop of Chester and Coventry.	See previous note p. 38.
St. Edmundsbury	...	...	...	The Abbot of St. Edmundsbury.	<i>Henry I.</i> , p. 390.
Winchester	...	...	...	The Bishop of Winchester	See note below. ¹
York	...	...	...	The Archbishop of York	<i>Henry I.</i> , p. 488.

The reader will have anticipated that there was one rate or contribution, and one only, which would meet the conditions of these three finds as above specified, namely, the great levy by Pope Gregory IX. in 1240-1241,² of one-twentieth of the revenues of all the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which caused so much indignation throughout this country. It would be levied upon strict exchequer principles, only the best money would be accepted in payment, and this would be carefully mixed and weighed, so that an official record could be kept, and each officer of the pontifical treasury held accountable for the share placed in his charge. It not only accounts for the absence of clipped money, but also for the presence of the Scottish and Irish contributions, and for the acceptance of the foreign deniers. It also explains the large proportions from the wealthy sees of Canterbury and London, the revenues of which were enormous when compared with those of the lesser diocesan communities. Indeed, Matthew Paris says that one-fifth of their

¹ Henry, Bishop of Winchester, *temp.* Stephen, had a grant of a moneyer at Glastonbury, and it is probable that the privilege had now been removed to Winchester.

² As previously remarked, "about 1240" was the date assigned by Sir John Evans to the deposit of the Eccles hoard.

revenues was claimed, and that Canterbury actually contributed eight hundred marks. Of this levy the following is one of several similar accounts given by contemporary monastic historians.

1240. A friend and relation of the Pope came into England, the Master Peter Rubeus (Le Rouge), who passed rapidly through England, and coming to Scotland, collected with great energy one-twentieth of everything in that country for the use of the Pope. About the same time Master Peter de Supion (Supino), being sent into Ireland diligently to collect the same twentieth in that country, carried off all he could from thence . . . And the booty which he collected is said to have amounted to the number of fifteen hundred marks and more. But the collection of Peter Rubeus, which he extorted from the Scotch territories, is supposed to have reached the double of this sum. And subsequently returning through England, he looked into all the houses of the religious orders with a new spirit, and exacted money for the use of the Pope with exceeding strictness . . . By which conduct he turned aside the hearts of the faithful from any devotion and affection towards the Church of Rome, and wounded them with great anguish.—*Matthew of Westminster, Younge's version.*

We have still to account for the curious hiding of sections of this levy at Eccles, Colchester, and in France (a most unlikely site for a hoard of English coins of this period), also, probably, at many other places on the road between Great Britain and Rome. At this date the Emperor Frederick II., who was excommunicated, and at war with Pope Gregory, remonstrated with his brother-in-law Henry III., for allowing the Pope to levy subsidies in England for the purpose of carrying on the war against him. Henry hesitated between the claims of his powerful brother-in-law on the one hand, and the spiritual influence on the other, but seems to have inclined to a secret policy in sympathy with the former. The King of France openly impounded the whole of the similar levy in his domains, pending the close of the war. The Clergy of England bitterly complained that they were compelled to pay so heavy an assessment, and it was urgently represented to the king, that the country was being impoverished for the purposes of a war the outcome of which was an open question. Therefore, even if all had gone well, it is doubtful whether Le Rouge and Supino would have been allowed to

openly convey their treasure chests out of the kingdom. Matthew Paris, the Monk of St. Albans, who was living at the time, tells us the sequel :—

1241. Peter de Supino, a clerk of the Pope's, had all this time been most assiduously collecting money by extorting the twentieth part of [church] property from all *Ireland*, supported by a warrant from the Pope, and carried away from that country a sum of fifteen hundred marks, besides divers gifts. Master Peter Le Rouge [*Rubeus*], too, who styled himself a familiar [*familiaris* = of the household] and [a] relation of the Pope, was also protected by a papal warrant, and diligently employed himself in amassing fresh heaps of money from the northern parts of England, and by sending messengers throughout *Scotland*. At length with their saddle-bags [*clitellis*] well filled, they proceeded under conduct of the monks of Canterbury to Dover, and suddenly and *secretly* set sail; for they had heard from messengers, sent in haste, that the Pope was still without hopes of recovery; indeed that he was either now dead or would die almost immediately. They therefore took to a *sudden and clandestine flight*, both by land and sea, with their booty, because they were afraid that if the King should gain intelligence of the Pope's death, he would prudently retain all the money they had collected, and consider how to proceed with it on the succession of another Pope. Scarcely had they entered *France*, when lo! Master Walter de Ocra, a messenger of the Emperor's, arrived in all haste, though now too late, bringing letters of credence from the Emperor and also a message to the King, informing him of the state of affairs at the Roman court, and advising him, if any such people were to be found in England, to detain the booty as well as the robbers. But when the messenger learnt that the two had escaped, he blamed the King's indolence, and immediately departed in sorrow and anger at having had his journey in vain: he, however, diligently followed their steps, carefully watching the meanderings of those foxes, in order to tell the Emperor the result of his journey.

The said agents of the Pope being now informed of his death, although the thing was concealed from the people for some days, and knowing that the said Walter was following them on foot, hastened their journey, not sparing their horses. After crossing the Alps, they secretly betook themselves to the cities and houses of their patrons,¹ *stowing away the money with which they had come loaded*

¹ In the original the word is *parentum* which Dr. Giles translates "relatives," but I think that "patrons" is clearly intended. See *Matthæi Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, IV, p. 160, *Rolls Series*.

in secret places, and not making their presence known to all; and as the said Walter could not find either them or the money, except only by whispering reports, he sent word to the Emperor of everything as well as of the fruitlessness of his search. His Imperial Majesty then ordered a strict search to be instituted throughout the whole of the cities of Italy subject to his rule, to discover who these papal messengers and traffickers were, who had, to the subversion of the empire and the common weal, and to excite war, fraudulently collected money throughout various countries, especially England, to bestow it on the Pope . . . He then ordered them to be seized and imprisoned as deadly enemies, to be convened to appear, and their property and houses to be confiscated, as well as those of all their relations . . . Thus these wretched ecclesiastics, who ought to have been protected under the wings of the Pope, were utterly despoiled, and the enemies of the Church more daringly oppressed them.—*Dr. Giles.*¹

The mystery of these three finds is now no longer difficult to understand. At the moment of the news of the aged Pope's mortal illness Le Rouge would be on the borders of Scotland, in all likelihood, staying with the Bishop of Carlisle, whilst he exacted the subsidy from that country, and Supino would be in Ireland, probably at Dublin, similarly occupied. Their instant return to Rome was imperative, and Le Rouge would summon his colleague to meet him at the nearest point *en route*. This would be at the Monks' Hall at Eccles, for Le Rouge would follow the Roman road, already mentioned under the Cuerdale Hoard,² from Carlisle and the north, through the Pass of the Ribble at Walton as far as Wigan where it branches towards Manchester. Supino sailing from Ireland would come up the Mersey as far as Wilderspool near Warrington, and follow the Roman road along the banks of that river and of the Irwell towards Manchester. The actual junction of these two ancient roads, the one from the north, and the other from the Mersey and Ireland, is close to the Monks' Hall at Eccles. Here Le Rouge and Supino would therefore meet and determine their plans. The king was in the west of England preparing for an expedition against the Welsh, and for

¹ I have added the words in the square brackets upon comparison with the original.

² See page 23.

anything they knew to the contrary, had the same information from Rome that they had. Their road, therefore, must lie to the east. To carry their treasure in bulk would court arrest, and in that case all of it would be impounded. But if they hid portions of it in comparatively small sections these could be regained when they returned in less troublous times and so much would be saved. By so dividing it for concealment at the various places at which they stopped *en route*, if one or two deposits were discovered the ultimate loss would be minimised. Matthew Paris heard "whispering reports" that this, in fact, was their system, and his expression that they were "stowing away the money in secret places at the houses of their patrons" proves that they were so hiding it in sections. It is true that he is referring to the latter portion of their journey, but the secret only leaked out there in consequence of the strict inquiries instituted by the Emperor in Northern Italy, but in England no such inquiries were ever made, and there was not the least likelihood that their methods would be known. What was necessary in Italy was equally, if not more, expedient in England.

From Eccles, after crossing the main ford of the Mersey at Stretford, only three miles away, they would make for the east coast, for Henry with his Court was in the west, and their chief supporters in England were in the east. The Bishops of Lincoln and Norwich and Hubert de Burgh of Colchester, the deposed Justiciary, were disaffected towards the King, and, therefore, if Le Rouge and Supino could but safely reach the jurisdiction of any one of those three potentates they would be comparatively safe. Another reason which perhaps influenced them was the fact that the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury and the Monks of Peterborough had been the last to pay their contributions, and it is not unlikely that there were still arrears owing which, if possible, they wished to collect on their way. The route probably chosen would be by the religious houses of Darley, Lenton, Grantham, Peterborough, Ely, St. Edmundsbury and Colchester. Here they would tarry in the vain hope of a ship of some Flemish trader to carry them over the sea, for the passage was no light matter in those days, when even kings with the resources of the Cinque Ports at their

command, were often delayed for weeks ; but they were ultimately compelled to make their way to Canterbury, whence, as Matthew Paris tells us, they proceeded under the conduct of the monks to Dover, from which port they suddenly and secretly set sail for France.

Since the above was written and whilst these pages are in proof, Mr. Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A., calls attention to a fourth hoard of these coins, which, although discovered twenty-five years ago, seems to have remained unrecorded in any numismatic work. Mr. Crisp and his cousin, Miss G. A. Rope, of Orford, have now kindly instituted enquiries in the locality. The Rev. E. M. Scott, formerly Rector of Sudbourne, has supplied particulars of the find, and Mr. Henry Brindley, who was one of his Churchwardens at the time, has given an account of the discovery as he saw it ; lastly, Mr. Crisp has submitted a selection of the actual coins for inspection. It is, therefore, not too late to place upon record some account of a curious and important find of the Short Cross coinage of Henry II.-III., although any descriptive details must now be lacking.

During the restoration in 1879 of the ancient Church of Sudbourne, in Suffolk, a wooden box containing silver pennies estimated at the number of 2,800, was discovered beneath the flooring of the nave. The box crumbled away when exposed to the atmosphere, but the coins seemed to have been carefully packed within it. They comprised Irish pennies of King John, Scottish *sterlings* of William the Lion, and money of the Short Cross Series, which formed the great bulk of the hoard. In addition there would probably be the usual percentage of foreign coins, which, except to an expert, would pass unnoticed amongst the last series.

It will be observed how closely this description corresponds with those of the lost hoards of Le Rouge and Supino. Again, we have the selection of a site within religious ground. Again, the Irish money of John and the Scottish *sterlings* of William the Lion are in evidence. Again, there is the absence of any valuables save money. Again, the quantity hidden is too great to represent any private fortune in coined money, and again, the date of the latest coins, so far as can be

ascertained from those examined, is contemporary with the events of 1241.

Sudbourne-cum-Orford is on the Suffolk coast, thirty-eight miles from Colchester. Its church, which was standing long before the date of the coins, was the mother church of Orford, and the manor and advowson belonged to the Chapter of Ely. Orford, which was then one of the principal ports on the east coast, supplied ships to the king's navy and carried on an extensive shipping trade with the Continent. So prosperous was it that King Stephen granted it a market and King John a charter of incorporation. Its castle, which is to-day a well-known landmark, was built in Norman times, and was a noted stronghold of the eastern counties. In later days the sea played Orford false, and its harbour became almost silted up; its trade and importance gradually declining in consequence.

Hither, therefore, Le Rouge and Supino would journey from Colchester hoping to take ship for the Continent; for the words of Matthew Paris, "at length with their saddle-bags well filled they proceeded under conduct of the monks of Canterbury to Dover, and suddenly and secretly set sail," rather suggest that Dover was not their first attempt at departure. At Sudbourne, as they tarried in vain, they again lightened their risk, "stowing away the money, with which they had come loaded, in secret places at the houses of their patrons, and not making their presence known to all," and no place could be better chosen there for safety than a church of their patron the Bishop of Ely.

But our probabilities do not end here, for there was a special reason for the selection of Orford as their proposed port of departure. At that time Hubert de Burgh, their patron at Colchester, was also Governor of Orford Castle, hence, not only could they rely upon an escort to the coast, but there was every reasonable expectation of his being able to place a ship at their disposal. We are not told how they came to Canterbury, but it would seem expedient that they should avoid London, and it may be that they went by sea from Orford to Rochester or to Herne, then a port for Canterbury.

This find gives us the third mathematical factor, which though

suggested by the totals of the Eccles and Colchester finds, was lacking because no information was forthcoming of the number of coins found in the French hoard. Now we have the following figures :—

Sudbourne.	Eccles.	Colchester.
About 2,800	6,217	About 12,000

But of these only the total at Eccles claims to be accurate, for the number at Sudbourne was but approximate, and the coins at Colchester were certainly more or less squandered before examination. If, however, the accurate figures at Eccles be accepted as the exponent, and a small percentage allowed to the Sudbourne and Colchester totals to compensate for variation, we have the unit of 3,108 at Sudbourne, the double unit of 6,217 at Eccles, and the quadruple unit of 12,434 at Colchester, and these, it is submitted, were probably the actual numbers, or very nearly the actual numbers, which must have been contained in each hoard—for the following reason. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, of the time of Henry II., tells us that official payments were then made by weight, “for they thought that, in course of time it might easily come about that money originally good might fall from its condition”—in other words, that it would depreciate by circulation or clipping. At first the difference between number and weight was estimated at six pennies to be added to every cash pound, but this was found not to be sufficient, so later the actual weight of silver only was accepted. The legal weight of the penny of the Short Cross Series was then $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, but the coins themselves never quite average that standard. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that in the accounts of the Eccles and Colchester hoards no weights whatever are given—a very unusual omission in such numismatic records.

The coins composing the three finds had been in circulation ; therefore a fair average weight to allow for each would be $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains, and this is practically borne out by the test of some 300 specimens

which have been weighed by Mr. Baldwin and the writer for the purposes of this paper. At this weight our unit of 3,108 gives us twelve pounds, troy, even to three halfpence.

We were told by Matthew Paris that Le Rouge and Supino journeyed "with their saddle-bags well filled." Hence, for convenience of transit, we may now assume that they carefully weighed their treasure and divided it into bags, each bag containing twelve pounds in weight. These they would seal and the weight would be convenient for handling and counting in large quantities. At Eccles they buried two bags, at Colchester four bags, and at Sudbourne one bag. By this means they knew that if they subsequently had to send an agent to recover the treasures, they could check his accounts and the searcher could at once ascertain if he had found all. Again, the various receptacles in which the three finds were deposited are explained. At the small religious community at Eccles it was an earthen bowl, deposited mouth uppermost. At Colchester, where they could no doubt obtain whatever they wanted from de Burgh, it was a leaden vessel. At the sea-port town of Sudbourne it was a make-shift wooden box. In every case, we may take it, the money when deposited would still be contained within the sealed bags, but these have long ago perished.

The last we hear of these "wretched ecclesiastics," as Matthew Paris calls them, is that they were languishing in prison, and that, in mediæval times, usually meant the end of worldly affairs. That some of their hidden treasures were not regained is clear, that others still remain undiscovered is more than probable.

THE TUTBURY HOARD.¹

In 1831, in the course of removing a bank in the bed of the river Dove, some thirty yards below the present bridge at Tutbury, a vast quantity of silver pennies, estimated at 20,000,² of the reigns of Edward I. and II., was discovered.

¹ In my search for historical evidence bearing upon this subject, I was assisted by my friend the late Mr. Frederick Spicer, and I think that I am indebted to him for whatever new light is thrown upon it.

² This number has been given as 200,000, but this was, probably, a misprint.

An explanation of the loss of this treasure has already been given by Mr. Hawkins, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, December 15th, 1831, which is as follows:—

After deducing the date of deposit from internal evidence to some time between the years 1321 and 1329, he continues :

“From the very large number of coins discovered, it is not probable that they were the private property of an individual, accumulated for the supply of the ordinary expenses of his establishment; but the treasury of the king or some potent nobleman, collected to defray the charges of some great public undertaking; or to provide the pay and remunerate the services of some large body of retainers; it was probably the military chest of some extensive armament; and this conjecture seems strengthened by the circumstance of the coins being unaccompanied by any other valuables, or articles of domestic use, which would probably have been the case had the treasure been private property, or purposely buried for temporary concealment.

“The probable time, the locality, and the circumstances, all seem to point to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, as the proprietor of this treasure. After the Barons with this powerful noble at their head, had extorted from Edward II. a sentence of attainder and perpetual banishment against his favourites and ministers, the Spencers, they disbanded their army and separated to their respective castles. Edward soon afterwards assembled his forces to avenge and punish a personal insult to his queen; and, as in this the Barons took no part, the king, having his forces on foot, resolved to take his enemies by surprise and defeat them in detail. In this he was successful; but while he was engaged in these operations in the Marches of Wales, the Earl of Lancaster hastily assembled his vassals, summoned his friends, and marched to Gloucester, whence he proceeded to his castle at Tutbury, in order to effect a junction with a reinforcement he expected from Scotland. Hearing that Edward was rapidly advancing against him, he drew out his forces from Tutbury, and marched to Burton, about four miles distant, and placed his army in position on each side of the bridge to obstruct the King's passage. The river being swollen with late rains 'there was no means to pass by the fords, whereupon the King was constrained to stay the space of three days,' at the end of which time the Earl of Surrey was ordered to conduct a small party over a bridge, about three miles from Burton, and fall upon the rear of the Earl of Lancaster's position while his

attention was occupied by an assault upon his front: and at the same time the King, preceded by a strong party under the Earl of Richmond, was to pass a ford at Walton and attack him on the other side.¹ When the Earl found that the King had actually passed the river, his defence of the bridge became of no avail, and he withdrew his troops after setting fire to the town, meaning to give the King battle in the open country: the superiority, however, of the King's forces left the Earl no other resource than a speedy retreat towards the North, and he fled to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and made prisoner. Though the circumstance is not mentioned by our general historians, yet William de Pakington, who was Clerk and Treasurer of the Black Prince's household in Gascony, and therefore had probably good means of information, expressly states that upon the King having passed the river, the Barons went with the Earl of Lancaster to Tutbury and thence to Pontefract; and with such expedition was all this effected that the latter left behind him at Burton 'all his vittels and other things,' and the King himself came to Tutbury that same evening. At this time, then, in all probability, these coins became deposited; the Earl of Lancaster did not perhaps take his military chest with him to Burton, and his retreat upon Tutbury might have been in some degree influenced by his wish to pick up his treasure as he passed; but it might also be a movement of necessity, for if the King placed force enough to prevent the Earl's immediate passage of the bridge at Burton, he would, as soon as the King had passed the Trent at Walton, be hemmed into an angle formed by the conflux of the Trent and Dove, and the passage of this last river would be his only mode of escape. Voluntarily, then—or involuntarily—his route was across the Dove, about the place where these coins were found; and, as his retreat was conducted with such rapidity as to be rather a flight than a retreat, there would not be time to remedy any disaster that might befall his military chest on its passage through the ford; and a disaster might easily occur, as there was not at that time any bridge over the Dove; the banks were soft and marshy, and the floods, which had delayed the King, had not altogether subsided."

Such was the carefully reasoned argument by which Mr. Hawkins identified the Tutbury treasure with the military chest of the Earl of Lancaster, and it is a pleasant task after seventy-three years to be able to offer direct documentary evidence in support of his theory.

¹ The "turning movement" of modern tactics.

"The King with a strong force pursued the said lords as far as the bridge of Burton-upon-Trent; and the Earl of Lancaster with the aforesaid lords moved from Pontefract towards the King, and came to Tutbury, the first day of March. *And on his way he lost much of his stores through a great flood of water.* And on March 7th, the Tuesday before the feast of Saint Gregory, the said Earl went with the said Lords and with his army against the King, and was defeated at the said Burton Bridge, and fled with his men towards Pontefract. And the King took the castle and town of Tutbury, and Sir Roger de Amory, who was opposed to the King, was killed there, and was buried in the Priory . . . And the King held possession of Tutbury *and whatever treasure he found there.*"¹

This confirms the usually accepted version, that in the initial stages the king was at Coventry, and that the Earl himself, after collecting his forces in Yorkshire, marched south from Doncaster to Tutbury.² Consequently, the Dove at Tutbury would be the only river on his way in which he could have lost "his stores through a great flood of water." Nevertheless, reading the two accounts together, it seems more probable that "the vittels and other things" left behind at Burton, and the stores lost in the flood, relate to the same disaster, and that it actually occurred in the retreat, as Mr. Hawkins has surmised.

The repetition of history in the above theories to account for the treasures at Cuerdale and Tutbury is curious. Both were the treasure chests of an army, and, allowing for the depreciation in the value, and consequent increase in the quantity of current money during the intervening four centuries, both were of equal value. In each case an army, raised in Lancashire and Yorkshire, whilst attempting to defend the crossing of a river against an English King Edward, was cut off from the Roman road at a ford named *Walton*, and lost its treasure chest in crossing, or attempting to cross, a river in its retreat towards York. In each case also, the English king was successful, and the chiefs of the defeated force slain or subsequently executed.

¹ *Livre de Reis de Brittanie, etc.*, Rolls Series, p. 341.

² *Battles and Battlefields in England*, p. 58.

KING JOHN'S ARMY CHEST.

There is still a vast army chest lying but a few feet below English soil, compared to which all these discoveries pale into insignificance. This is the entire treasury of King John, including the ancient regalia of England, the jewels of the Normans, and perhaps even the crown of Alfred. We know that it was lost in a quicksand, where the old road from Lynn to Swineshead crosses the "Wellestrem," and that a gold coronet was discovered in the sinking of a well in that neighbourhood. Then the district was half land and half water, but now the retrocession of the sea and the drainage of the Fens ought to have rendered possible a recovery which was once hopeless. That it will be recovered is but the repetition of history; but that no attempt should be made to locate and recover a treasure which apart from its intrinsic value, would be of priceless worth to the nation and to the whole archæological world, is incomprehensible. Surely the antiquary and the historian, guided by the discovery of the coronet and the records and traditions of the locality, can ascertain the vicinity, and the geologist locate the probable site of the ancient quicksand.¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.²

PLATE I.—TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT CUERDALE. IX-X CENTURIES.

Alfred the Great.

Fig. 1. *Obverse*.—+ . . . ÆLFRE D . REX ; bust to right, diademed.

Reverse.—+BVRGNOD, in angles of cross-crosslet, with lozenge-shaped centre, enclosing cross with pellet in each angle, each limb extending to outer circle, and terminating in a fleur. Pellet outside each side of lozenge.

Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., Vol. X, Pl. II, 12, engraved from this coin.

¹ My notes on the subject of buried treasure contain materials for the possible explanation of the loss of other hoards, which I trust to similarly treat upon some future occasion.

² The whole of the coins illustrated have been selected from the collection of Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., President of this Society.

From the Cuerdale find; and the Kenyon, Norris, Whitbourn, "A Lady in the North," Brice, Montagu (lot 559), and Murdoch (lot 81) collections.

Fig. 2. *Obverse*.—ÆLFRE D REX SXX; similar to fig. 1.

Reverse.—HEAHTAN MONETAN; similar to fig. 1, except that the limbs of the cross-crosslet are not fleured, and there are no pellets in the angles of the small central cross.

From the Cuerdale find, and the Kenyon, Huxtable, Murchison, Bergne, Young and Brown, collections.

Fig. 3. *Obverse*.—ÆLFRE D REX; similar to figs. 1 and 2.

Reverse.—HEREFERÐ; similar to fig. 2, except that there are groups of three pellets outside each face of the lozenge.

Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. V, Pl. I, 4, engraved from this coin.

From the Cuerdale find, and the Wigan, Marsham (lot 155), Montagu (lot 557), and Murdoch (lot 82) collections.

Fig. 4. *Obverse*.—+EE FR ED RE, in four groups of letters, around a small cross pattée within inner circle.

Reverse.—ENE forward, FERÐ, retrograde, in two lines, divided by three pellets, one pellet and one pellet; below, one pellet.

Fig. 5. *Obverse*.—ÆEL FRE DREX, in three groups of letters, otherwise similar to fig. 4.

Reverse.—+AÐELVLF MO, in two lines, divided by three crosses pattée; above and below single pellet.

Fig. 6. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED REX, in four groups of letters, annulet after L and R of the king's name; large plain cross within inner circle.

Reverse.—+SCLAMVIN; crescent after X; large X surmounted by crescent, within inner circle.

Types of St. Edmund Memorial coinage, cf. *British Museum Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 116, coin No. 386, where the obverse legend is read as that of the name of a moneyer "Elofroed?" cf. also Vol. II, p. 38, coin No. 2.

Fig. 7. *Obverse*.—ÆLFR ED REX; bust to right, diademed.

Reverse.—Large monogram of *Londonia*; cross above and below.

Fig. 8. *Obverse*.—ÆLFR ED REX; similar bust, drapery varied.

Reverse.—Similar, ornaments in field varied.

Fig. 9. *Obverse*.—+EΓER ED RE; similar bust, drapery varied.

Reverse.—Variety of figs. 7 and 8.

Fig. 10. *Obverse*.—ELFR ED REX; similar bust, drapery varied.

Reverse.—Variety of figs. 7, 8 and 9.

- Fig. 11. *Obverse*.—ELFR ED RE ; similar bust, drapery varied.
Reverse.—Variety of figs. 7, 8, 9 and 10.
- Fig. 12. *Obverse*.—ÆLFR ED REX ; similar bust, drapery varied.
Reverse.—Small monogram of *Londonia*, between TILEVINEMÖN in two lines, ornaments in field.
- Fig. 13. *Obverse*.—+ELFRED REX D◊R-◊ (for *Dorobernia*, Canterbury).
 Small cross pattée within inner circle.
Reverse.—DIA RV LDM-✠-, in two lines, separated by three single pellets, above and below, pellet.
- Fig. 14. *Obverse*.—ÆLFRED+ in centre line, above and below QRSNÆF ÖRDÆ (for Oxford), in two lines.
Reverse.—BERIIVÆLRDMO, in two lines, divided by three crosses pattée ; above and below, a group of four pellets.

Edward the Elder.

- Fig. 15. *Obverse*.—+EADVVEARD REX ; bust to left, diademed.
Reverse.—VVLFR+REDMO, in two lines, ornaments in field.
- Fig. 16. *Obverse*.—+EADAMEARD REX ; similar to fig. 15, but of rougher work.
Reverse.—IIICIOH (? the last letter), in upper line, IIICIOB, in lower line, divided by three crosses pattée, above and below, cross and pellets.

St. Edmund, Memorial Coinage.

- Fig. 17. *Obverse*.—+ŒCEADN, followed by small crescent. Large A within inner circle.
Reverse.—+CVLCREO, followed by small crescent. Large cross pattée within inner circle.
- Fig. 18. *Obverse*.—+SCEADWVNDI RE ; similar to fig. 17, pellets in field.
Reverse.—+ADRÆDVÆMOT ; similar to fig. 17, but plain cross.
- Fig. 19. *Obverse*.—+CDRENIDANÆC ; similar, pellets differently arranged.
Reverse.—+ER ŒALT MON ; similar.
- Fig. 20. *Obverse*.—+ŒCFAL ; A within inner circle.
Reverse.—+CRERCI ; similar to fig. 17. A halfpenny.

Cnut of Northumbria.

- Fig. 21. *Obverse*.—··CNVTR··E··+, plain cross.
Reverse.—+EB··IAI··CEC··IVI (for *Eboraci civitas*, York). Small cross pattée, with pellet in each angle, within inner circle.
- Fig. 22. *Obverse*.—··CNVT RE+ ; even-limbed cross with pellet in each angle.
Reverse.—+BRACE CIVIT ; similar, but without the pellets. York.

- Fig. 23. *Obverse*.—CNVT, at extremities of even-limbed cross, pellet in each angle.
Reverse.—+EBIAIICECIF; similar. York. A halfpenny.
- Fig. 24. *Obverse*.—· · CN · · VTR · · E · · +; patriarchal cross inverted, pellet in each of four lower angles.
Reverse.—+EB · · IAI · · ICE · · S · · ; small cross pattée within inner circle, pellet in second and third angles. York.

PLATE II.—TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT CUERDALE.
 IX—X CENTURIES—*continued*.

- Fig. 25. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT REX; similar to fig. 24, but upper limb of cross terminates in an R or crozier.
Reverse.—+EB · · IAI · · CEC · · IV · · ; similar to fig. 24. York.
- Fig. 26. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT R · · E+; similar to fig. 24.
Reverse.—+EB · · IAI · · CEC · · IV; large plain cross, a pellet in first and fourth quarters. York. A halfpenny.
- Fig. 27. *Obverse*.—Similar, but patriarchal cross to left.
Reverse.—+E · · B : ID · · C · · EC : A : ; small cross pattée with a pellet in each angle. York. A halfpenny.
- Fig. 28. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT R · · E+; similar to fig. 26.
Reverse.—+EB · · IAI · · CI · · VI; monogram of "Karolus" within inner circle. York. A halfpenny.
- Fig. 29. *Obverse*.—CRFEN=CNT RE, cross crosslet having a pellet in each central angle, and one in each outer angle.
Reverse.—+EB · · IAI · · CEC · · IV · · ; within inner circle, small cross pattée. York.
- Fig. 30. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT R · · E+; plain cross.
Reverse.—+CVN · · NET · · TI · · ; within inner circle, small cross pattée, a pellet in first and fourth angles.
- Fig. 31. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT R · · E+; patriarchal cross inverted, a pellet in each of the four lower angles.
Reverse.—+CVN · · NET · · TI · · ; similar to fig. 30.
- Fig. 32. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT R · · EI+; similar, but small cross pattée in each of the two upper angles of the cross.
Reverse.—+CVN · · NEH · · ; similar, no pellets in angles of cross.
- Fig. 33. *Obverse*.—OV+NMЯ+ (for CNVT RNX), irregularly disposed about patriarchal cross inverted; no pellets in angles.
Reverse.—+EHIDNVQ, retrograde (for CVNDITE), cross pattée, no pellets in angles, within inner circle.
- Fig. 34. *Obverse*.—· · CNVT RE+; upper limb of cross terminates in Я or a crozier.
Reverse.—+CVN · · NET : TI · · ; small cross pattée, pellets in first and fourth angles.

Fig. 35. *Obverse*.—CN ··· VT R ··· E+, patriarchal cross inverted, a pellet in each of the four lower angles.

Reverse.—+CVN ··· NET ··· TI ···; within inner circle, small cross pattée, a pellet in second and fourth angles of cross. A halfpenny.

Fig. 36. *Obverse*.—O ··· IVTЯ ··· E+, at ends of, and between limbs of cross; upper and lower limbs crosslet; pellets in four lower angles.

Reverse.—+CVN ··· IICL ··· II ···, retrograde; within inner circle, small cross pattée, a pellet in first and fourth angles.

Fig. 37. *Obverse*.—··· CN ··· VTR ··· E+; similar to fig. 35.

Reverse.—+ · CVN ··· NET ··· TI ···; within inner circle, monogram of Karolus. A halfpenny.

Fig. 38. *Obverse*.—+IORLAENAI; small cross pattée, having each limb prolonged, and a pellet in each angle.

Reverse.—+JVENTOIVICI; small cross pattée. Quentovic, near Étaples, France.

Cnut and Siefred.

Fig. 39. *Obverse*.—··· CHVT R ··· E ··· +, patriarchal cross inverted as fig. 24.

Reverse.—+SI EF RED VS, in four groups of letters; within inner circle large plain cross, a pellet in first and fourth angles. This coin is a "mule" connecting the coinages of Cnut and Siefred.

Siefred.

Fig. 40. *Obverse*.—+SIEF RED VS, in three groups of letters; within inner circle plain cross, a pellet in first and fourth angles.

Reverse.—+REX, opposite ends of plain cross.

Fig. 41. *Obverse*.—+SI EF RED VS, in four groups of letters; within inner circle small cross pattée with two pellets opposite each angle.

Reverse.—+REX, opposite ends of cross crosslet, ··· between each letter.

Fig. 42. *Obverse*.—+SIEFREDVS REX, around cross crosslet.

Reverse.—+EB IAI CEC IVI, in four groups of letters; within inner circle small cross pattée with groups of three pellets opposite each angle. York.

Fig. 43. *Obverse*.—+SIE ··· FRE ··· DVS ··· REX ···, around cross crosslet.

Reverse.—Similar to fig. 42. York.

Fig. 44. *Obverse*.—ISRTVEIE (for SIEVIERT), between limbs of long cross crosslet having a group of three pellets in each angle.

Reverse.—Similar to figs. 42 and 43. York.

Fig. 45. *Obverse*.—+SI EU ERT REX ·, in four groups of letters, around patriarchal cross with a pellet in each of the four upper angles.

Reverse.—+D · NS DS · REX · (for *Dominus Deus Rex*); within inner circle small cross pattée with pellet in second and third angles.

Fig. 46. *Obverse.*—+E BR AI CEC, around patriarchal cross nearly to left.

Reverse.—+MIRABILIA FC (*fecit*); within inner circle cross pattée with a pellet in first and fourth angles. York.

Fig. 47. *Obverse.*—+NDNDNIAI FCDT; within inner circle cross pattée with a pellet in second and third angles.

Reverse.—DN2 D2 -<->- REX, in two lines divided by central cross pattée.

Alwald.

Fig. 48. *Obverse.*—+ALVALD · DVS, within inner circle cross pattée with a pellet in second and third angles.

Reverse.—DNS DS REX, in two lines divided by central pellet.

Halfdan II.

Fig. 49. *Obverse.*—+ΛΓΓ DE NE RX; within inner circle a small cross.

Reverse.—TIIVVINE, in two lines divided by group of three pellets to left, and a central pellet. A halfpenny.

PLATE III.—TYPES OF COINS OF WILLIAM I., FOUND AT BEAWORTH.
XI CENTURY.

Fig. 1. *Obverse.*—+PILLEM REX ANG; within inner circle, crowned full-faced bust between two stars.

Reverse.—+LIOFRED ON CRIC+; within inner circle, springing from central annulet a cross with limbs terminating in group of three pellets surmounted by a quadrilateral compartment, with single pellet at each angle. Cricklade. Type V (1077–1080).¹

∴ Overstruck on Type IV. The final cross in the legend is from the earlier die.

Fig. 2. *Obverse.*—+PILLELMRE; crowned full-faced bust holding sword in right hand, resting on right shoulder, inner circle springing from the shoulders.

Reverse.—+GODSBRAND ON SCL; within inner circle, cross ornamented by quadrilateral compartment with each angle terminating in a fleur of three leaves. Type VI (1080–1083).

¹ The references to the types of this reign are from Mr. Carlyon-Britton's "Coins of William I. and II.," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902.

- Fig. 3. *Obverse*.—+PILLIELMREX ; crowned bust in profile to right, in front, sceptre in the king's right hand, inner circle springing from the king's shoulders.
Reverse.—+IEGLRIC ON PERH ; within inner circle, cross with central annulet, in each angle fleur of three leaves springing from inner circle. Wareham. Type VII (1083–1086).
- Fig. 4. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX ; same type as fig. 3.
Reverse.—+LIFPOLD ON PINC ; same type as fig. 5. Winchester.
 "Mule" connecting Types VII and VIII.
- Fig. 5. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX ; full-faced crowned bust, sceptre to right in king's right hand terminating in cross, and resting on his left shoulder, annulet on his right shoulder, inner circle divided by bust.
Reverse.—+IELFPINE ON CRIC ; within inner circle, plain cross with annulet in each angle containing the letters PXXS. Cricklade. Type VIII (1086–1087).
- Fig. 6. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REIX ; similar type, group of three pellets on king's right shoulder.
Reverse.—+TVRRI ON DEVITVN ; similar type.
- Fig. 7. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX ; similar type, but no ornaments on king's left shoulder.
Reverse.—+SEMIER ON IEXEC, similar type. Exeter.
- Fig. 8. *Obverse*.—+PILLELMREX ; similar type, annulet on left shoulder.
Reverse.—+SILAC ON GLPEC, similar type. Gloucester.
- Fig. 9. *Obverse*.—+PILLELMREX, similar to fig. 5.
Reverse.—+GODRIC ON STFANI, similar type.
- Fig. 10. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX ; similar type, pellet (as is usual) on king's left shoulder.
Reverse.—+IELFEN ON SANDP, similar type. Sandwich.
- Fig. 11. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX ; similar type.
Reverse.—+IELNOD ON SCIEFT ; similar type. Shaftesbury.
- Fig. 12. *Obverse*.—+PILLEIM REIX ; similar type, but four pellets on king's right shoulder, and large annulet intersecting arches of crown.
Reverse.—+OODESBRAND ON SI ; similar type.
 . . . Mr. Carlyon-Britton has another coin from this remarkable obverse die, but with reverse very similar to fig. 6.
- Fig. 13. *Obverse*.—+PILLELM REX, similar type to fig. 11, but no ornament on either shoulder.
Reverse.—+SEFMROI ON PITI, similar type. Wilton.
- Fig. 14. *Obverse* and *Reverse*.—Similar types, but of rough work and legends blundered, cf. figs. 6 and 12.

PLATE IV.—TYPES OF COINS FOUND AT COLCHESTER, ECCLES AND
SUDBOURNE. XII–XIII CENTURIES.

- Fig. 1. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS • R • E***; within inner circle, head, full-faced, crowned with a row of pearls surmounted by a cross, sceptre to left.
Reverse.—***FILIP • ON • NORHT**; within inner circle, cross pommée, voided with small cross pommée in each angle. Northampton. Class I, 1180–1189.¹
- Fig. 2. *Obverse*.—Similar.
Reverse.—***RAVL • ON • NORHT**. Northampton. Class I.
- Fig. 3. *Obverse*.—Similar.
Reverse.—***h[ERN]AVD • ON • I**. Ilchester. Class II, 1189–1208.
- Fig. 4. *Obverse*.—Similar.
Reverse.—***IVE • ON • SALOP**. Shrewsbury. Class II.
- Fig. 5. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS R E***.
Reverse.—***HENRI ON GANT**. Canterbury. Class III.
- Fig. 6. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS R E***.
Reverse.—***PIERES • ON • DVR**. Durham. Class III, 1208–1216.
- Fig. 7. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS RE ***.
Reverse.—***SAMVE • L • ON • GA**. Canterbury. Mint mark cross pommée. Class III–IV.
- Fig. 8. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS R E***.
Reverse.—***NICOLE • ON • LGN**. Lynn. Class III.
- Fig. 9. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS R E***.
Reverse.—***RAVF ON LVNDE**. London. Class V, 1222–1248.
- Fig. 10. *Obverse*.—**HENRICVS R E***.
Reverse.—***TOMAS • ON • RVLX**. Rhuddlan. Mint mark cross pommée. Class II, 1189–1208.

William the Lion of Scotland.

- Fig. 11. *Obverse*.—***LEREI WILAM**; bust to left; before a sceptre.
Reverse.—***HVE WALTER**; within inner circle a cross voided; in each angle a star.
- Fig. 12. *Obverse*.—Similar type, but with inner circle.
Reverse.—Similar type.
- Fig. 13. *Obverse*.—Similar type.
Reverse.—Similar type.
- Fig. 14. *Obverse*.—***HVE WAL RO**.
Reverse.—Same legend. Roxburgh.

¹ The classes and dates are according to the arrangement by Sir John Evans.

John. Irish Coinage.

Fig. 15. *Obverse*.—**IOHANNES RE** ✱; crowned full-faced bust within triangle, sceptre to left, and quatrefoil to right.

Reverse.—**ROBERT ON DIV** ♂; crescent and large star between three small stars, all within a triangle terminating in a cross pattée at each angle. Dublin.

Fig. 16. *Obverse*.—Similar.

Reverse.—**WILLEM ON LI** •; similar. Limerick.

NOTES ON THREE BRITISH GOLD COINS RECENTLY FOUND NEAR ABINGDON.

BY BERNARD ROTH, F.R.C.S.

AS the site of the discovery of coins of the early British period should, whenever possible, be placed on record, I venture to submit the following particulars of recent finds in Berkshire.

I.—*A Stater of Cunobelinus*, found in the autumn of 1899, in a field near Steventon, three miles south of Abingdon, not far from the Great Western Railway and the Berks Canal. It corresponds almost exactly with Evans, Plate IX., No. 8.¹



GOLD STATER OF CUNOBELINUS.

Obverse.—CA-M on either side of an ear of bearded corn with a couple of faintly marked leaflets at the base of its stalk; there are no beards or "haulins" to the four grains of corn below the inscription; unlike Pl. IX., No. 8, there is no small cross in the field.

Reverse.—CVN, horse prancing to the right; above, a wavy branch between two pellets; the horse has a distinct bridle and in this differs from the illustration in Evans. Weight $81\frac{1}{2}$ grains, in very good preservation, whereas the Evans specimen weighs $83\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

¹ The references throughout are to *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, by Sir John Evans.

Steventon is well within the Central District which comprises, according to Sir John Evans, the counties of Bucks, Beds, Herts. Middlesex, Essex, Northampton and parts of Cambridge, Hunts, Berks and Oxfordshire, and was the kingdom of Cunobelinus.

II.—*A Stater inscribed TASCIO-RICON*, found in the spring of 1900, on the surface after ploughing in a field near Marcham, some three miles to the West of Abingdon, and therefore within a few miles of the Cunobelinus coin.



GOLD STATER OF "TASCIO-RICON."

Obverse.—TASCIO-RICON in two compartments of a tablet with curved ends, placed across a five-fold band of alternately plain and corded lines: the line of division of the tablet is extended across the coin and there are curved lines which spring from the angles of intersection of the band and tablet. In the field, near the margin of the coin, four pellets can be distinguished.

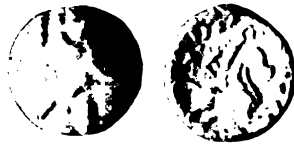
Reverse.—Horseman to the left, armed with a sword, shield and slender waisted cuirass, and looking backwards; below, a ring ornament; in front, another ring ornament: of which only one-half is present on the coin; behind, above the shield, is a decorated ring ornament. The mane of the horse is indicated by a curved line which runs downwards from the horse's ears equidistant from its neck. Weight, in very good preservation, 83·8 grains.

This description corresponds with that of Evans, Plate VIII., No. 6, except for the presence on the reverse of the decorated ring ornament in the field to the right, which is absent in the illustrations given by Sir John Evans: the arrangement of the horse's mane is also rather different. The brim of the horseman's helmet is well indicated, and so are the bosses of the cuirass. The weight, 83·8 grains, practically corresponds with that (84 grains) of the coin illustrated in the book. Sir John Evans records this type as having been found in the Counties of Essex, Huntingdon, and Norfolk. Its discovery,

therefore, in Berkshire, is of importance, especially in view of the mystery which still shadows the word RICON.

I have to thank our member, Mr. John West, of Abingdon, for having kindly allowed me to bring these two coins to the notice of the Society.

III.—A *Stater of Addeddomaros* found in August, 1903, at Marcham, within half-a-mile of that just described and which came into my possession within a few days of its discovery. Marcham is some distance from the Eastern District, as defined by Sir John Evans, comprising Norfolk and Suffolk, in which he locates the Kingdom of Addeddomaros; but he records a find of the same prince to the north of Oxford, whereas Marcham is some seven or eight miles to the south-west of that town. My coin corresponds most nearly with Evans, Plate XIV., No. 6.



GOLD STATER OF ADDEDOMAROS.

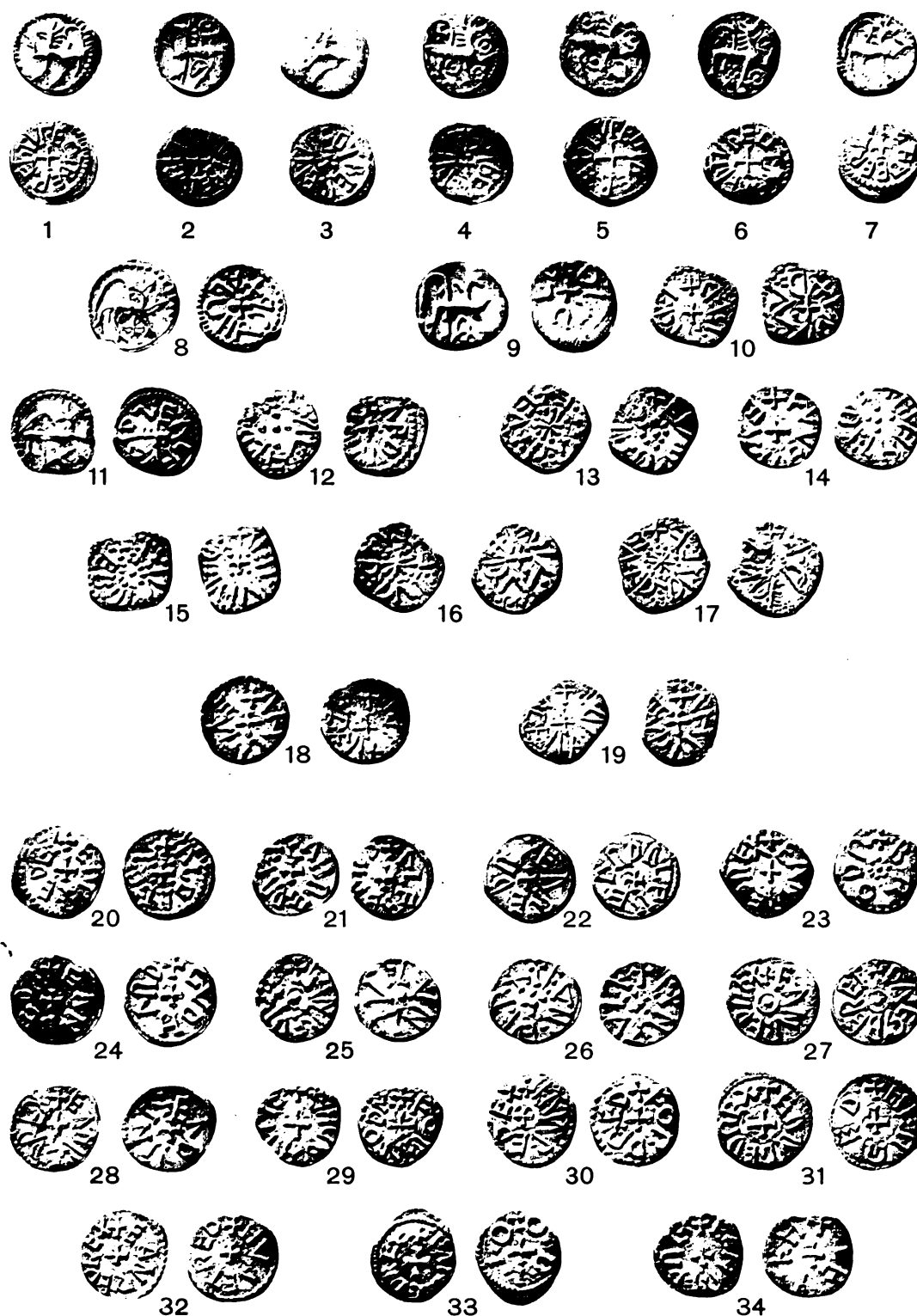
Obverse.—Convex, a star-shaped ornament formed of six curved wreaths or torses with pointed ends enclosed by lines on either side, and diverging from three open crescents in the centre; a pellet can be distinguished in each of the spaces between the wreaths but no ring ornaments. This side of the coin is much worn and the details are followed with some difficulty.

Reverse.—Several letters of the name ADDEDOMAROS, but only one, viz.: a D can be easily read. Long-tailed horse prancing to the right with a beaded line almost in the form of a dew-lap; above, an ornament somewhat resembling a bucranium, but in fact composed of three figures like the nose and mouth of the horse, combined into a star with three pellets; beneath the tail a ring ornament, below the horse, just an indication of what Sir John Evans describes as a cornucopiæ with three pellets above, and in front of the horse a pellet with indications of two ring ornaments. Weight, 85·7 grains.

64 *Notes on Three British Gold Coins found near Abingdon.*

The specimen illustrated by Sir John Evans weighs $86\frac{1}{4}$ grains, and he refers to others weighing $81\frac{1}{2}$, 83 and 87 grains respectively.

It is an interesting fact that these three totally distinct types of Early-British coins should have been found within a few miles of Abingdon, and all within the last four or five years.



Pl. I.

REGAL SCEATTA AND STYCA COINAGE OF NORTHUMBRIA.
VIII.—IX. CENTURIES.

THE REGAL SCEATTA AND STYCA SERIES OF NORTHUMBRIA.

BY MAJOR A. B. CREEKE.

TOWARDS the middle of the fifth century the Angles began to settle in the British provinces of Bernicia and Deira, situate on the northerly part of the east coast of England. Deira extended from the Humber to the Tyne, and Bernicia from the Tyne to the Tweed.

In A.D. 547, Ida, an Angle chief, came to Flamborough Head with a large contingent of his countrymen, including their wives and families, in forty ships, and proceeding to Bernicia, founded that kingdom as its first king. He died in A.D. 559 and was succeeded successively by his six sons, during whose reigns the Britons re-conquered a considerable portion of the kingdom.

Ælla, another Angle chief, became king of Deira in A.D. 560 and died in A.D. 588.

ÆTHELFRITH,

king of Bernicia, son of Æthelric and grandson of Ida, and also son-in-law of Ælla, seized the kingdom of Deira in A.D. 593. He united it to Bernicia, and after exiling Hereric, the boy king, and Eadwine, the infant son of Ælla, founded the kingdom of Northumbria.

By his victory over the Britons at the battle of Chester, A.D. 607, he extended his kingdom to the Dee and thus added that city to his domain. Beda says that he conquered more territories from the Britons than any other king. In A.D. 617 he

F

was defeated and slain at the battle on the Idle, in Nottinghamshire, by Rædwald, king of East Anglia, the third Bretwalda. Simeon of Durham styles Æthelfrith, "the bravest of kings."

EADWINE,

the previously mentioned son of Ælla, succeeded Æthelfrith in A.D. 617. He was the first Christian king of Northumbria, being baptized in A.D. 627 by Paulinus, who was afterwards created the first Archbishop of York. Eadwine, after the death of Rædwald, became the fourth Bretwalda. In A.D. 633 Penda, king of Mercia, and the champion of heathendom, in alliance with Cadwalla, king of the Strathclyde Britons, attacked and slew Eadwine at the battle of Heathfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Cadwalla afterwards ruled and ravaged Northumbria, until he was defeated and slain by

OSWALD,

son of Æthelfrith, at the battle of Deniesburna, near Hexham, in A.D. 634. When Oswald succeeded to the kingdom he at once devoted his energies to the re-establishment of Christianity, which had been almost destroyed by Penda and Cadwalla, and to healing the wounds which they had inflicted upon his kingdom. He was the fifth Bretwalda. In A.D. 642, whilst on his way to assist the East Anglians against the attacks of Penda, he was defeated and slain by him at the battle of Maserfeld (Winwick), near Warrington, Lancashire.

OSWIU,

brother of Oswald, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 642. He strove to live in peace with Penda, but the latter, in conjunction with Ethelhere, king of East Anglia, Ethelwald, son of Oswald, and Cadwallader, son of Cadwalla, with other British princes, attacked and ravaged Northumbria in A.D. 655. Penda was, however, defeated and slain by Oswiu, at the battle of Winwædfeld, near Leeds, together with Ethelhere and many other royal persons

in the same year. Oswiu was the sixth Bretwalda, and he added considerably to his dominions. He died in A.D. 670, and was the first king of Northumbria to die in peace upon the throne.

No coins are known of any of the before-named kings of Northumbria.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DISTINCTIVE NORTHUMBRIAN COINAGE.¹

The numismatic history of Northumbria begins soon after the death of Oswiu, but whether with the reign of Ecgrith, 670-685, or of his successor Aldfrith, 685-705, is a question yet to be decided. Numismatic writers appear to have generally accepted the reign of Ecgrith as its commencement, without question, upon the strength of a few very rare copper stycas, all struck from the same dies and reading on the obverse ECGFRID REX, which were found in the churchyard of Heworth, Durham, in A.D. 1813. If their attribution be correct, we are confronted with the fact that none of his successors prior to Ælfwald I., 779-788, an interval covering a period of at least one hundred years, issued any coinage other than one of silver² sceattas. Ælfwald I., however, then issued both sceattas and stycas, the latter being introduced towards the end of his reign; and after his death sceattas ceased to be issued, the stycas³ becoming the peculiar and only coinage of Northumbria until the death of Osbercht in A.D. 867. This fact alone seems strong presumptive evidence that the transition from the sceatta to the styca, *i.e.*, from a silver to a copper standard, did not commence until the reign of Ælfwald I., or more than a century after the

¹ It is probable that some of the earlier sceattas which have been found in this country, were issued in Northumbria, but as yet no distinctive characteristics or legends have been discovered by which they can be identified.

² The silver of these sceattas, like that of the anonymous sceattas, is more or less base.

³ The stycas are of copper, bronze, brass, or a mixed metal.

death of Ecgfrith. Lindsay in his *Coinage of the Heptarchy*, in speaking of the appropriation of these stycas to Ecgfrith, says:—

This appropriation, however, I must confess, has never appeared to me perfectly satisfactory; the neatness of these coins, their want of resemblance to any of the early ones of Northumberland,¹ and, above all, the word REX which occurs on them, but which we do not find on any of the numerous coins of Northumberland,¹ before the reign of Eanred, all incline me to consider these coins of a later period than that of 670, and as more likely to belong to Ecgfrid, the son of Offa, than to the Northumbrian prince of that name; as, however, I have no evidence to offer decisive of the question, and as the appropriation of these coins to Northumberland¹ has been almost universally assented to, I shall not venture to remove them from their place amongst the coins of that kingdom.

The course adopted by Lindsay will be followed in this paper, although the writer is strongly of opinion that the stycas in question were not issued by Ecgfrith of Northumbria.

ECGFRITH,

son of Oswiu, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 670. By his conquests and rule he raised Northumbria to its highest pitch of power and glory. In A.D. 685 he invaded the country of the Picts and was defeated and slain, and his army destroyed, at the battle of Nechtansmere. In consequence of this great disaster the Northumbrians lost a considerable portion of their territories, and also the suzerainty of some of the adjoining kingdoms.

The copper stycas attributed to Ecgfrith are all of one type: Obverse, + ECGFRID REX, surrounding a cross. Reverse, LVXX, one letter being opposite each of the four angles of a radiate cross. The reverse legend is said to be LVX, and to have a religious meaning; but the correct reading is more probably LV, an abbreviation of the name of the moneyer, LVL or LVLLA, who was also a moneyer of Offa, king of Mercia, A.D. 757 to A.D. 796, and his successor Coenwulf; the crosses, XX, not being intended

¹ "Northumberland" is here an error for "Northumbria."

for letters, but to complete the ornamentation of the angles of the cross. The suggestion therefore of Lindsay, that these stycas were more likely to belong to Ecgfrith, the son of Offa, than to Ecgfrith of Northumbria, should not be lightly treated. It is true that the coinage of stycas was peculiar to Northumbria, and its only coinage from about A.D. 788 to A.D. 867, but this is not proof that stycas were not occasionally coined in the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia. When not at war with each other there would be some trading between the border populations of the two kingdoms, and, as Northumbria possessed no silver coinage of its own, it would be a convenient and profitable policy for the Mercians to coin stycas for use in their dealings with the Northumbrians. A parallel example may be quoted from the time of Stephen, when the Scotch so closely imitated the English coinage that, except for the king's name, some of their money is identical. As evidence that in the course of trade stycas found their way across the border into Mercia, and were accepted by that county, it may be mentioned that they have been discovered at Castleton in Derbyshire.¹ The style of these disputed stycas also suggests a Mercian rather than a Northumbrian origin, and that they could not have been issued earlier than the close of the eighth century. In A.D. 785, Ecgfrith, son of Offa, was "hallowed king" of Mercia, and probably acted as Viceroy of the northern or border portion of that kingdom until his father's death in A.D. 796. In coining copper stycas, Ecgfrith would not be considered as interfering with Offa's prerogative, as the standard coinage of Mercia was of silver.

THE SCEATTA SERIES.

ALDFRITH,

the elder brother of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, but the natural son of Oswiu, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 685. He governed his country successfully and peaceably, but within somewhat

¹ *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 171.

narrower limits, and died at Driffeld in A.D. 705. He is described by Beda as "a man most learned in Scripture," and by Eddius as "most wise."

The only coins known of this king are two sceattas, both of which are of the same type. The coin here described is in the British Museum, and the other was in the cabinet of the late Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh.

Obverse.—†ALÐFRIDH2. [ALDFRIDUS.] A circle of dots enclosing a pellet.

Reverse.—A fantastic quadruped walking to the left.

Aldfrith left two infant sons, of whom Osred, aged 8 years, was the elder and under the guardianship of the Ealdorman Beorhtfrith. A powerful party, however, at once placed

EADWULF,

possibly the husband of a daughter of Ecgfrith, upon the throne, which he occupied for about two months, and was then driven from the kingdom; whereupon Beorhtfrith declared in favour of

OSRED I,

the before-mentioned son of Aldfrith, who succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 705. Beorhtfrith as Regent obtained a great victory over the Picts in A.D. 710, which conferred a certain lustre upon Osred's reign. The young king proved to be cruel and dissipated, and in A.D. 716, Coenred, son of Cutha, a descendant of Ocgā, natural son of Ida, abetted by the regular and secular clergy, led a revolt against Osred, and slew him in battle near the Mercian frontier.

COENRED

ascended the throne in A.D. 716, and died in A.D. 718.

OSRIC,

younger brother of Osred I., succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 718, and was slain in A.D. 729.

CEOLWULF,

son of Cutha and brother of Coenred, ascended the throne in A.D. 729. Internal disorder was so great, that in A.D. 731 he was seized, shorn, and forced into a monastery, to be, however, speedily restored. He voluntarily resigned the crown in A.D. 737, and became a monk at Lindisfarne.

No coins are known of any of the last-named five kings.

EADBERHT,

son of Eata, a descendant of Ida, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 737. Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, was his brother. In company with Angus, king of the Picts, Eadberht, in A.D. 756, captured Alclythe (Dumbarton), the capital of the Strathclyde Britons. His reign was fairly prosperous, and he extended the realm to the widest expansion that it was destined to attain, restoring it to power and importance. In A.D. 758, Eadberht abdicated the throne, and, assuming the tonsure, became a canon in the Metropolitan Church of York.

The coins of Eadberht are sceattas and are rare. The following are the varieties of the types :—

1. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross within dotted circle.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to left, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail. *Brit. Mus.*
2. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—Quadruped, similar to the preceding. Fig. 1. *Creeke.*
3. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and very long ears, and arched and barbed tail; cross pattée under arch of tail, pellet within circle of dots above and below raised left foreleg and under body. Fig. 4. *Carlyon-Britton.*
4. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Small tribrach, with ends pommée.
Reverse.—Quadruped, similar to that on No. 1. Fig. 3. *Carlyon-Britton.*
5. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; circle of dots enclosing a pellet

under arch of tail, above and below raised left foreleg, and under body. Fig. 5. *Carlyon-Britton*.

6. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and very long ears, and arched and barbed tail; cross under arch of tail, pellet within circle of dots above and below raised left foreleg, and four dots below body. Fig. 6. *Carlyon-Britton*.

7. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to left, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; cross pattée under arch of tail, and an arabesque below body. Fig. 2. *Carlyon-Britton*.

8. *Obverse*.—E□TBEREhTVΓ. Cross pommée on a boss.

Reverse.—Quadruped to right, with mane and short ears, arched tail, and left foreleg and right hindleg raised; numerous dots in the field. *Brit. Mus.*

9. *Obverse*.—EΛ□BERhTVΓ. Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, arched and barbed tail, and tongue extended. Fig. 7. *Creeke*.

10. *Obverse*.—EΛ□BERhTVΓ. Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and short ears, arched and barbed tail, and tongue extended.

11. *Obverse*.—E□TBERhTV2. Circle of dots enclosing cross; dot in each angle.

Reverse.—Quadruped to right, with mane and extra long ears, and arched and barbed tail; arabesque below.

12. *Obverse*.—E□TBERETVΓ. *retrograde*. Cross.

Reverse.—Quadruped to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; cross pattée under arch of tail, and arabesque below body.

OSWULF,

son of Eadberht, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 758, and was assassinated in the following year by the officers of his household at Methelwongtune (Great Whittington). This place is about seven miles from the old Roman station of Corbridge, in the valley of the Tyne, Northumberland, which had then recently become the new capital of the kingdom.

No coins are known of this king.

ÆTHELWALD MOLL,

possibly the son of Æthelwald, son of Oswald, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 759. Owing to party quarrels, the state of the country became so deplorably unsettled that in A.D. 765 a national assembly was convoked at Finchale, on the Wear, Durham, with a view to secure internal peace. In this council Æthelwald Moll was deposed and Alchred was proclaimed king.

No coins are known of Æthelwald.

ALCHRED,

who claimed to be a descendant of Ealric, son of Ida, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 765. As the result of party faction he was deposed by the Witan and driven from the kingdom in A.D. 774.

The coins of Alchred are sceattas and are very rare. The following are the varieties of the only types.

1. *Obverse*.—ALCHRED. Cross.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; below, a cross. *Brit. Mus.*
2. *Obverse*.—AFCHRED. Cross.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, without mane or ears, but with short arched tail; below, a cross.
3. *Obverse*.—†ΥΓΠΗΚΩΔ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; below, cross. Fig. 8. *Creeke*.
4. *Obverse*.—ΥΓΕΗ
RED. Cross.
Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and extra long ears, and arched tail; below, cross pommée. *Carlyon-Britton*.

ÆTHELRED I.,

son of Æthelwald Moll, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 774. In the expectation that he would thereby strengthen his position, he caused some of the leaders of the party who had opposed his election in the Witan to be slain, and in persecuting and banishing others, he acted with such cruelty that the party in desperation

took up arms against him and ultimately in A.D. 778 drove him from the kingdom.

There is only a single sceatta of this king known. This unique coin is in the cabinet of Lord Grantley, by whose courtesy an illustration of it is offered in the Plate. Its description is :—

Obverse.—EDIFÆD. Cross.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched tail; below, an arabesque. Fig. 9.

ÆLFWALD I.,

son of Oswulf, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 778. For his justice and piety he was styled “the Just” and “the Friend of God.” In A.D. 788 he was cruelly murdered at Scythlescester, near the Wall, by the powerful chief Sicgan.

The coins of Ælfwald I. are sceattas and stycas. He was the first king to coin stycas and the last to issue sceattas. The sceattas are very rare, and the following are the varieties of the type :—

1. *Obverse*.—EVÆΓDÆS. Cross.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; circle of dots enclosing pellet under arch of tail, and cross below body. *Brit. Mus.*

2. *Obverse*.—+EΓFVAIV. Triangle of three pellets.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to left, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail.

3. *Obverse*.—+VΓEFCTIV (the last four letters *retrograde*). Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to left, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail.

4. *Obverse*.—EALFVALDZ. Cross pattée; dot in each angle.

Reverse.—Quadruped, walking to right, with mane and long ears, and arched and barbed tail; below, cross pattée. Fig. 11. *Lord Grantley.*

THE STYCA SERIES.

ÆLFWALD I.—*continued.*

There is only one styca known of Ælfwald I. This coin is of the following type and moneyer :—

5. *Obverse*.—+ÆL:ƿLDV. . Cross of five pellets.

Reverse.—+EARDVVLF. Cross; dot in each angle. Fig. 12. *Creeke*.

OSRED II.,

son of Alchred, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 788, and in A.D. 790 was betrayed by his ealdormen and driven into exile.

No coins are known of this king.

ÆTHELRED I.

was restored to the throne in A.D. 790. He at once began a career of revenge and savagery, causing the deposed Osred II. to be slain, and the two infant sons of Ælfwald I. to be drowned in Windermere. His continued cruelties and deeds of blood became so odious to his subjects as to create a civil war, during which he was slain by the High Reeve Aldred at Corby in A.D. 796.

Æthelred I. during his restoration coined stycas, of which, however, only one is known. This coin is of the following type and moneyer :—

Obverse.—+EDIL:RED . *retrograde*. Cross pattée.

Reverse.—+EDIFVƿ.¹ Cross. Fig. 10. *Creeke*.

OSBALD,

a prominent chief, was proclaimed king in A.D. 796, but after a reign of twenty-seven days he was deposed and driven into exile.

No coins are known of this king.

EARDWULF,

son of Eardwulf, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 796. He caused Alchmund, son of Alchred, to be seized and slain. In A.D. 806 he was expelled in favour of Ælfwald II., but was restored in A.D. 808 and died in the same year.

The coins of Eardwulf are stycas and are somewhat rare. The following practically indicate the varieties of the types :—

¹ Runic ƿ = L.

1. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVLF. Cross.
Reverse.—+AENAD. Cross.
2. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVLF R. *retrograde*. Cross of five pellets.
Reverse.—+BARDVVLF. *retrograde*. Cross: dot in each angle.
3. *Obverse*.—+EARDEVVF. Cross.
Reverse.—+COENRED. Cross; dot in each angle.
4. *Obverse*.—+EV+RDVLE. *retrograde*. Star with ends pommetée.
Reverse.—+EVIIVQYVÆ. (the last four letters *retrograde*.) Circle of dots enclosing pellet. Fig. 13.
5. *Obverse*.—+EARDEVVÆ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+EDEΓHEΓH. *retrograde*. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 14.
6. *Obverse*.—+ERDVVGF. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EDEΓHVVED. *retrograde*. Cross; dot in each angle. Fig. 15.
7. *Obverse*.—+EV+RDVLE. *retrograde*. Star with ends pommetée.
Reverse.—+EDIƿVÆ. Cross. Fig. 16.
8. *Obverse*.—+EV+RDVLF. *retrograde*. Star with ends pommetée.
Reverse.—+EIREDC. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet. Fig. 17.
9. *Obverse*.—+EARDVC. Cross pattée; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+ERE2D. Pellet in centre.
10. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVL. Cross; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+FORDRED. Circle of dots enclosing cross.
11. *Obverse*.—+EARDVV REX. *retrograde*. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+HVAETRED. Cross pattée.
12. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVLR RE. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+HVLTRD. Circle enclosing pellet.
13. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVLF. Cross.
Reverse.—+MONNE. Cross.
14. *Obverse*.—+EARDVVC. *retrograde*. Cross; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+ODIΓO. *retrograde*. Cross pattée.
15. *Obverse*.—+EV+RDVLE. *retrograde*. Star with ends pommetée.
Reverse.—+VVJƿRED. Cross.

Varieties of the King's name and title:—

EARDVV REX.	EARDVVC.	EV+RDVLE.
EARDVVLF RE.	EARDVC.	EV+RDVLF.
EARDVVLF R.	EARDVVF.	EDVARDVF.
EARDVVLR RE.	EARDVLF.	EDVFDIIIF.
EADVLF.	EARDVVL.	EDVVDVVF.
EARDEVVF.	EARDVVLF.	EVVRDRVLF.
EA+RDALF.		

Varieties of the Moneyers' names :—

ΛENΛÐ.	EDELHELM.	HVΛETRED.
BARDVVLF.	EDEΓHEΓH.	HVΛETRD.
BROÐER.	EDΓHEΓM.	EDRHVVED.
COENRED.	EDEΓHVVED.	HVLTRD [HVAETRED?].
DAVID.	EDILRED.	MONNE.
EADVINI.	EDIIREVD.	ODILO.
EDΛΛI+····Λ.	EDIꝥVÐ.	ODIΓO.
EANVEARD.	ENDVER [EANRED?].	ÐΛDEAN.
EVIIVDЯVЭ.	ENREDC.	VVLFRED.
EARDVVLF.	EREꝥD [HERREÐ?].	VLFRED.
EARDEVF.	FORDRED.	VVJÆRED.
EVRDVLF.	HERIOD [HERREÐ?].	VHЯVED.
		VÐNNE.

In the *British Museum Catalogue* (Saxon), vol. i, p. 143, a styca is assigned to Eardwulf and described as obverse = HEARDALΓ, reverse = HERREÐ; but as it has evidently been struck from reverse dies of ALFHEARD and HERREÐ, two moneyers of Eanred, it is not noticed in the foregoing lists.¹ It and several similar stycas were discovered in the "Hexham Find" of A.D. 1832, and, as at that time no coins of Eardwulf were known, they were forthwith assigned to that king under the name of Heardulf. Since then, numerous stycas have been correctly assigned to Eardwulf, but on none of them is his name spelt with an H as on these specimens; and, moreover, the name does not appear to have been so spelt by any of the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers or historians. Has he been given the alternative name of Heardulf, on the strength of these misread stycas?

There are numerous blundered stycas which, owing to their type and style of workmanship, are supposed to belong to Eardwulf, but it is not thought advisable to refer further to them, inasmuch as their attribution would be purely conjectural. They and other blundered stycas are, however, well worthy of study, as it is only

¹ The use of two reverse dies, instead of an obverse and reverse die, is by no means infrequent in the Styca Series, and especially is this the case in the coinages of Eanred and Æthelred II.

by careful consideration and comparison of different specimens that a satisfactory decision can be attained.

ÆLFWALD II.

was raised to the throne on the expulsion of Eardwulf in A.D. 806, and held it until A.D. 808, when Eardwulf was restored.

The coins of this king are stycas and are very rare. They are of the following types and moneyers :—

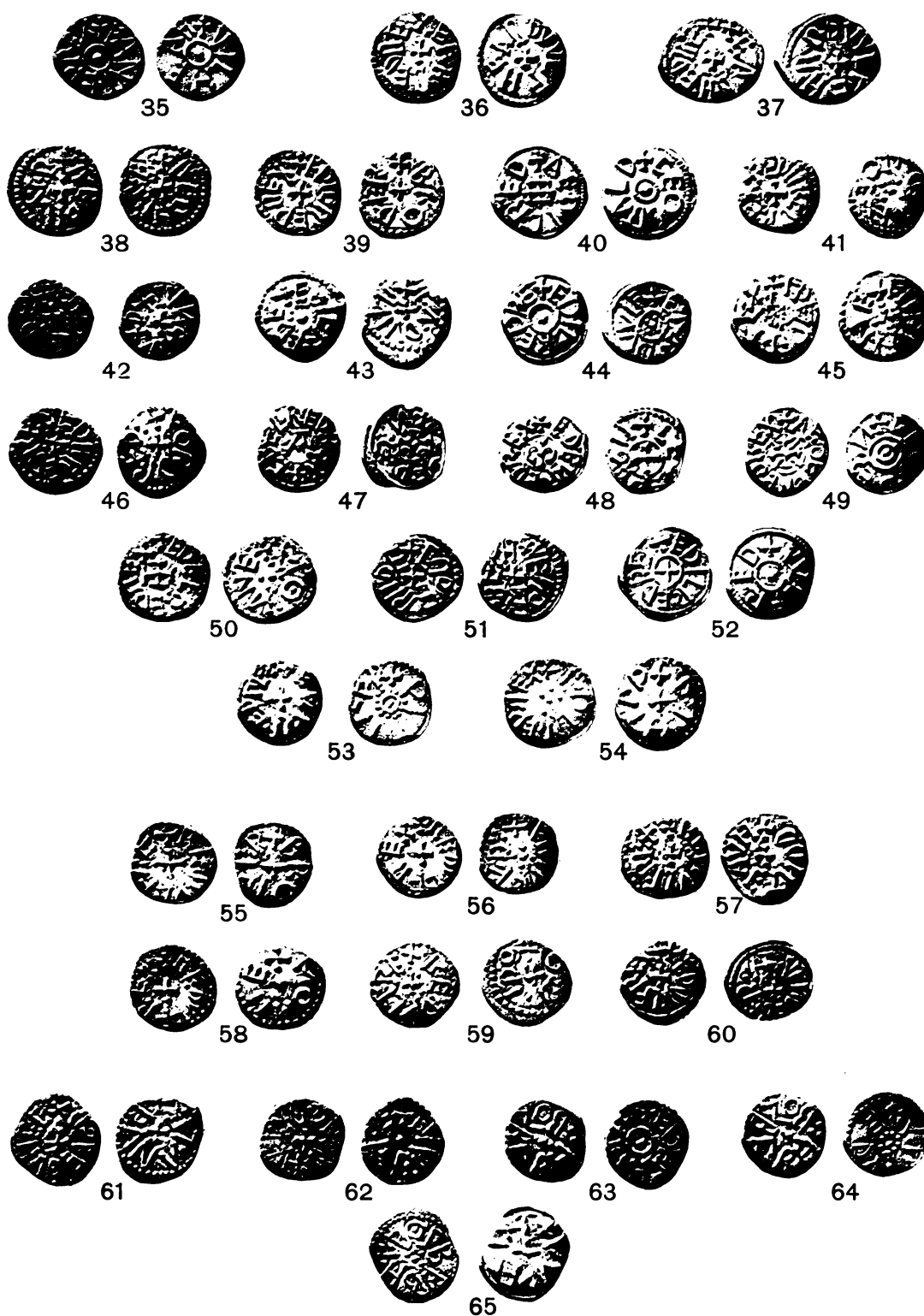
1. *Obverse*.—+FΓEVVID Ɓ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+EADVINI. *retrograde*. Cross. Fig. 19. *Heywood*.
2. *Obverse*.—+FΓEVVID Ɓ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+EADVINI. *retrograde*. Cross. *York Mus*.
3. *Obverse*.—+FLEVVID Ɓ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+EADVINI. *retrograde*. Cross. Fig. 18. *York Mus*.
4. *Obverse*.—+ELFVVID Ɓ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+ EO. *retrograde*. Pellet within circle of dots. *York Mus*.
5. *Obverse*.—+FLEVVID Ɓ. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+EADVINI. *retrograde*. Cross. *Creeke*.

It will be noticed that in every instance the legends of the above coins read *retrograde*.

EANRED,

son of Eardwulf, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 808. Ecgberht, king of Wessex, invaded Northumbria in A.D. 829, but Eanred, recognizing that many years of political faction had so weakened the kingdom as to make it impossible for him to offer any effectual resistance, met Ecgberht at Dore, near Sheffield, and submitting to him, acknowledged his supremacy. Eanred died in A.D. 841; his long reign, however, was not owing to his virtues or talents, but to the utter exhaustion and consequent lethargy of his country, following upon internecine strife.

The coins of Eanred are stycas and very numerous, but some of the types are rare. Some few of his coins are of silver, of different degrees of fineness, and appear to have been struck by



REGAL STYCA COINAGE OF NORTHUMBRIA. PI. II.
IX. CENTURY.

upwards of a dozen of his moneyers. It is said that their issue was due to accidents of the melting-pot, or to the re-use of Roman silver and copper coins in it, in undue proportions of the former, and that, although intrinsically of much greater value, they were issued as ordinary stycas.¹ The moneyers, Cunulf, Daegbercht, Eadvini, Herreth, and Vilheah, judging from the number and variety of types of the silver coins bearing their names, seem to have frequently indulged in these melting "accidents." Several similar coins of Eanred's successor, Æthelred II., and of the contemporary Archbishops of York, were also struck in silver. It has not yet been suggested that the Northumbrians, either civil or ecclesiastical, were ignorant of the relative value of silver and copper. May not these silver coins have been issued to facilitate trading transactions with the adjoining kingdoms?

The following will give a general idea of the various types:—

1. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+ALDÆZE. Cross; dot in each angle. Fig. 20.
2. *Obverse*.—EAHRED REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+ALFHEARD. Cross pattée. *Æ*. Fig. 21.
3. *Obverse*.—+EARED R. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—ALFHEARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 22.
4. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+BRODR. Circle of dots enclosing pellet. *Æ*. Fig. 23.
5. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. (*MR* in monogram.) Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+BRÆMR. (*MR* in monogram.) Cross of five pellets.
6. *Obverse*.—+EANRED R. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+CVDHARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 24.
7. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—CVNVVFF (*VF* in monogram.) Pellet. Fig. 25.
8. *Obverse*.—+EANRED ERX (*NR* in monogram.) Cross of five pellets.
Reverse.—+C+NAVLF. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 26.
9. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+DAEGBERCT. Circle enclosing pellet. Fig. 27.
10. *Obverse*.—+EANRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+EADVINI. Cross pattée. Fig. 28.

¹ The component parts of the ordinary styca contained from 60 to 70 per cent. copper, 20 to 25 zinc, 6 to 11 silver, and small portions of gold, lead and tin.—*Hawkins*.

11. *Obverse*.—+EΛ·HÆDE. Cross ; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+EΛNRED. Cross.
12. *Obverse*.—+EΛHRED RE. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+EORDRED. *retrograde*. Cross.
13. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED R̄. Cross.
Reverse.—+EDILVARD. Pellet.
14. *Obverse*.—EΛNRED REX. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+FOLCNOÐ M. Cross. Fig. 29.
15. *Obverse*.—+EΛHRED EX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+FORDRED. Cross pattée. Fig. 30.
16. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+GÆDVCELS. Cross.
17. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+HERRED. Cross pattée. Fig. 31.
18. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+HVAETRED. Cross. *Æ*. Fig. 32.
19. *Obverse*.—+EΛHRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+MOINE. Circle enclosing pellet.
20. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+ODILO. Cross pattée. Fig. 33.
21. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+TEV·EH. Cross. Fig. 34.
22. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+TIDVINI. Pellet.
23. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+VILHEAH. Circle enclosing pellet. Fig. 35.
24. *Obverse*.—+EΛHRED REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+VVLFEARD. Cross pattée. Fig. 36.
25. *Obverse*.—+EΛNHED HEX. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+VVLFEARD. Cross.
26. *Obverse*.—+EΛNHED HEX. Cross.
Reverse.—+VVLFEHRRD. Cross. Fig. 37.
27. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+VVLFEHRRD. Cross.
28. *Obverse*.—+EΛNHED HEX. Cross.
Reverse.—+ΛΛFEHRRD. Cross.
29. *Obverse*.—+XEΛNRED RE. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+VVLFRED. Cross.
30. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+PIHTRED. Cross.
31. *Obverse*.—+EΛNRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+DINTRED. Cross.

Varieties of the King's name and title :—

EANRED REX.	EANREP REX.	ЕАНЛ+ЕD ЛЕХ.
ЕАНRED REX.	EANREP RCX.	ЕАНЛ+ЕD ЛЕХ.
ЕАНRED REX.	EANREP REX.	ЕАНЕD ЛЕХ.
EANREĐ REX.	ІАНREP REX.	АЕРЕНД ЛІХ.
EANRED REX.	ІАНREP REX.	EANRED RE.
ЕАНRED REX.	EANREP HEX.	EANRED RE.
ЭАНRED REX.	EANRFP RCX.	EANRED RE.
ЭАНRED REX.	EVNRFP REX.	ЕАНRED RE.
ЭАНЯED REX.	EANHED ДЕХ.	ЕАНRED RE.
ЭАНRED ЯЕХ.	ЕАНRED REY.	ЕАНRED RE.
ЭАНRED RCX.	EANRE+D REX.	ЭАНЯЭD ЯЭ.
ЭАНЯЭD ЯЯХ.	ЭИV REX.	ЕАНRED RE.
EANRED RCX.	ЭИV REY.	ЭАНRED RE.
EANRFD RCX.	ЭИV REX.	ЕАНЯЭD ЯЭ.
EANRED RCX.	ENRED REX.	ЕАНЯЭD ЯЭ.
EVNRED REX.	ЭDЭЯИА ЯЭХ.	EАНЯЭD ЯЭ.
EVNЯED REX.	BANBVII ИЕХ.	EАНRED RE.
EVNRED REX.	EANRED HEX.	EАНRE RE.
EVNIDED REX.	ЕАНRED HEX.	ЕАНRED RE.
ЕАНRED RFX.	EANHED HEX.	ЕАНЛ+ЕD ЛЕ.
ENDRED ЯЕХ.	EANNED ИЕХ.	EАНRED RE.
EАНRED RFX.	EANHED HEX.	ENRED RE.
EDNRED REX.	EANHED ИЕХ.	ЭVRED RЭ.
EDNRFD REX.	EАНHED ИЕХ.	EAREP RE.
ENRED REX.	CANRED HEX.	ЕАНРЕЬ RE.
EАНRD REX.	ERDERN ЛЕХ.	ЭАНЯЭD ЯЯ.
ЕАНRD REX.	FANRED REX.	EАНRED RX.
ЕАНRD REX.	FAИRED REX.	EАНRED RX.
ЕАНVRED REX.	FANRFD RFX.	CANRED RX.
EАНRE REX.	ЕАНRED REX.	FAИ БХ.
EАНRED ERX.	ЕАНRED REX.	ЕАНRED R.
ЕНRED RFX.	ЕАНRED REX.	EАНRED R.
BANEDR REX.	ЕАНRED RAX.	ЕАНRED R.
ІАНRFD RCX.	ЕАНЯED RAX.	ЕАНRED R.
ЕАНRED REX.	ЕАНLED REX.	ЕАНRED R.
CANRED REX.	ЕАНRE REX.	ЕАНRED R.
EАНLED UEX.	ЕАНRE REX.	ЕАНRED R.
ЕАНРЕЬ БЕХ.	ЕАНRED REX.	ЕАНRED R.
АНРЕЬ БЕХ.	ЕАНRED REX.	ЕАНRED R.
LANRED REX.	ЕАНRED ЛЕХ.	ЕАНRED R.
GANRED REX.	ЕАНLED ЛЕХ.	ЕАНRED R.

G

Varieties of the Moneyers' names:—

Digitized by Google

CVAVNLF.	ĒARVINI.
CVVAVNGF.	ENIVDΛEI.
CVVAVNGF.	ELRLINI.
CVAVNLF.	INIGADV.
CVVAVNGF.	INIGADV.
EYNVALF.	INIGADV.
EVNVVLF.	EADVVLFF.
EVVVNGF.	EODVVLF.
EVNVALF.	EANRED.
EVVVNGF.	ELANRED.
DAECBERHT.	ELANRED.
DAECBERCT.	ELANREÐ.
DAECBFRCT.	EAHNRED.
DAECBERCT.	ELHRED.
DAEXBERC [Runic X = G].	ELHREÐ.
DÆXBERCT.	ELHJREÐ.
ᚢAEXBERC [ᚢ = DT in monogram].	EᚲIRED.
ᚢLEXBERC.	AIRED.
DAECBFRCT.	AHREÐ.
DVEGBERCT.	ELARDVVLF.
EADVINI.	ELARDVVII.
ELDVINI.	EVRVVLF.
ELDVIII.	EVᚢDΛΛΓE.
ELD+VINI.	EVᚢDΛΛII.
ELDVᚲINI.	ELANRDVVLF.
ELDVJINI.	ELᚢΛΛΓE.
EADYINI.	EDILVARD.
ELDVIII.	EDILVEVD.
ELDVII.	EÐELPAR [P = W].
ĒADVINI.	EORDRED.
ĒADVINI.	EORDRDE.
ĒADVINI.	EORDROE.
ĒADV+INI.	EORDRDΛE.
ĒADV+INI.	EORDRE.
ĒADV+INI.	EORJREO.
ĒADAINI.	ERDROE.
ĒADΛINI.	ERDRED.
ᚱADANI.	ERDRJED.
ᚱADVNI.	ᚱJREJED.
ᚱANVINI.	ᚲᚢDRJED.
ĒADVNI.	ORDRED.
ĒADVINI.	ERPINNE [P = W].

EDENOD.
 FOLENOD M [M=MONETARIUS].
 FVLENO M.
 FOLENO.
 FVLhIOþ [Runic þ = TH].
 FVLhOþ.
 FVLCNOD.
 FVLDNOD.
 FVLNOD.
 FVLNOþ.
 EVLCNOD.
 FORDRED.
 FORDRE.
 FORORED.
 ƿORDRED.
 GADVCELS.
 GADVCELS.
 ʒADVCELS.
 ʒADVCEʒ.
 ʒADVCEʒ.
 ʒADVCEʒ.
 ʒADVCEIʒ.
 ʒADVʒEIʒ.
 ʒADVCEIʒ.
 ʒADʒEIS.
 ʒAVʒEIS.
 ʒADIVIIS.
 ʒAID . . IIʒ.
 ʒAVTE . Iʒ;
 HENDILBER [=VENDELBERHT ?]
 HERRED.
 HERRED.
 HERREP.
 HIRRED.
 HERREDλ.
 HERREDX.
 HEIIIIEÐ.
 HEAREÐI.
 HERRD.
 HIRREÐ.
 HRRED.

HVAETRED.
HVAETRED.
HVNLAF ?
LEOFDEGN ?
MONNE.
MOINNE.
MONIE.
MOIIE.
ODILO.
ODILO MON. [MON = MONE-
TARIUS].
ODILO MO.
ODIJO.
TEVEH.
ÐADIGILS. [Ð = TH].
ÐAIDIGILS.
ÐAIDIUIS.
DAIDIUIS.
BADIGILS.
TIDVINI.
TIDIVNI.
TIDVNI.
VILHEAH.
VILHEAH.
VILHEAH.
VVLFHEARD.
VVLFHEARD.
VVLFHEARD.
VVLFHEARD.
VVLFHEALD.
VVLFHEALB.
VVLFHEHRRD.
VVLFHEHRRD.
VVLVHERRD.
ΛALFEHRRD.
ΛATFEHRRD.
ΛAGFEVRD.
VVLFRED.
VVLFRED.
PINTRED [P = W].
PINTRM̥ [Runic M̥ = ED].
PINARM̥.

PIXARM [Runic X = N].

PIHTRED [H = N].

PIHTRR.

DIHTRD [the first D = W].

DIHTRED.

DIHTRR.

VIHTRED [V = W].

Although the compilers of the *British Museum Catalogue* very properly include the name of Alfheard in their list of Eanred's moneyers, yet they appropriate the coins bearing his name to Heardulf, reading them HEARD+ALF and HEARDALF. The coins struck by Alfheard are of the following varieties :—+ALFHEARD, +ALFHEARD, and ALFHEARD. It will be observed that the first two have the initial cross preceding the name, and that the last is without it. This cross almost invariably marks the beginning of the legend of the coins of this series, and is adopted as such, unless it is palpably an error; but it has never yet been contended that the legends of coins wanting the cross, though identical in every other respect with those possessing it, and showing no signs of blunder or mistake, may be re-arranged and turned into other names. If such a principle of reading were adopted, the lists of kings and their moneyers would be considerably increased, and many unheard of names invented, their number being dependent upon the ingenuity of the reader. A somewhat similar transfer in favour of Heardulf and Eardulf has been made in the same authority, of some of the coins struck by the moneyer VVLFHEARD, so that all coins which have not the initial cross before his name are given in part to Heardulf, and in other part to Eardulf, and VVLFHEARD is allowed to retain those bearing an identical name which have the initial cross. The coins thus erroneously transferred to Heardulf read VVLFHEARD, and those similarly transferred to Eardulf read VVLFHEHRRD and AALFEHRRD, but in the *British Museum Catalogue* they are transformed into HEARDVVLF and into EHRRDVVLF and EHRRDAALF respectively. In these instances, however, the initial cross is respected.

ÆTHELRED II.,

son of Eanred, succeeded to the kingdom in A.D. 841. He was

expelled in A.D. 844 in favour of Redulf, but restored after the death of Redulf in the same year. Æthelred died in A.D. 849.

The coins of Æthelred are stycas and are very numerous. Some of the types, however, are both artistic and rare.

The following will give a general idea of the various types:—

1. *Obverse*.—+ÆDILRE R \times . Cross.
Reverse.—+ALDHERE. Cross. Fig. 38.
2. *Obverse*.—+ÆDILRED R \times . Cross.
Reverse.—+AUGHERE. Cross.
3. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED REX. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+ÆDILRED. *retrograde*. Cross.
4. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+BROÐER. Cross. Fig. 39.
5. *Obverse*.—+ÆDILRED. Square compartment with pellet at each corner, upon a cross pommée. This type has not previously been recorded.
Reverse.—+CEOLBALD. Circle of dots enclosing pellet. *R.* Fig. 40.
Creeke.
6. *Obverse*.—+EDIRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+COENRED. *retrograde*. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 41.
7. *Obverse*.—+EDIGRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+JVDENHVD. (VD and VJ in monogram.) Cross.
8. *Obverse*.—+EDIGRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+CVNEMV\D. Cross. Fig. 42.
9. *Obverse*.—EDILRED EX. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EADVIII. Cross. Fig. 43.
10. *Obverse*.—EDIGRED REX. Cross pattée, dot in third quarter.
Reverse.—+EÆNRED. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
11. *Obverse*.—+ÆDILRED. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EANBALD. Circle enclosing pellet.
12. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED RE. Circle enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EARDVVLF. Circle of dots enclosing cross of five pellets.
Fig. 44.
13. *Obverse*.—+EDLRED RE. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EQLVEAD. Cross.
14. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED RE. *retrograde*. Cross of five pellets.
Reverse.—+EDEΓHEH. Cross.
15. *Obverse*.—+EDILREDD REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+EΓEHOJH. Cross pattée.
16. *Obverse*.—+EDELRFD REX. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+ERPIHNE. Cross of eight pellets. Fig. 45.

17. *Obverse*.—+EDIƿRED REX. Cross ; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+FORDRED. Cross. Fig. 46.
18. *Obverse*.—+EDILRE R. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+HERRED. *retrograde*. Cross.
19. *Obverse*.—+EDIƿRED X. Cross ; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+INRED. *retrograde*. Cross ; dot in each angle.
20. *Obverse*.—+EDELRED REX. Circle enclosing large **ⅆ**.
Reverse.—+LEOFDEȝH. Ornamental curved cross with curved angles ;
 pellet in centre. Fig. 47.
21. *Obverse*.—+EDELRED REX. Circle enclosing large ornamented **᚛**.
Reverse.—+LEOFDEȝH. Circle enclosing cross pattée. Fig. 48.
22. *Obverse*.—+EDIƿRED REX. Circle of six dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+ƿEOFDEȝH. Circle of five dots enclosing pellet.
23. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED REX. Circle of dots enclosing cross.
Reverse.—LEOF
 DEGI } An animal prancing to right, head to left.
 H
24. *Obverse*.—+AEðELREð REX. Circle enclosing cross pattée, with four
 rays proceeding from it.
Reverse.—+LEOFDEȝH. Double circle enclosing pellet. Fig. 49.
25. *Obverse*.—+EDELRED REX. Cross potent.
Reverse.—MONNE. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 50.
26. *Obverse*.—+EDILDE. Cross, dots in angles.
Reverse.—+OLDAN. Circle enclosing pellet.
27. *Obverse*.—+EQILRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+ODILO. *retrograde*. Cross.
28. *Obverse*.—+EÐJD RE. Cross.
Reverse.—+TIDVLF. Circle enclosing cross. **AR**.
29. *Obverse*.—EÐIȝEÐ ȝE. *retrograde*. Cross.
Reverse.—+VENDELBERH. Cross. Fig. 51.
30. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+VIHTRED. Cross.
31. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED RE. Circle enclosing cross.
Reverse.—+VVLƿRED. Circle enclosing pellet. Fig. 52.
32. *Obverse*.—+EDLIRED RE. Cross of five pellets.
Reverse.—+ΛΛƿFȝIC. Cross.
33. *Obverse*.—+EÐFLRED REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+PIHTRED. Double circle, outer of dots, enclosing pellet
 Fig. 53.
34. *Obverse*.—+EDILRED REX. Circle of six dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+DIHTRD. Cross. Fig. 54.

Varieties of the King's name and title:—

EDILRED REX.	EDRED REX IF.	EDFLRED RC.
EDILKED KEX.	EAFLRED REX.	EØFRET RT.
EÞIFRED REX.	AEDELRED REX.	EØILKED KE.
EØIFREP REX.	AEØELREØ REX.	EDELRED RE.
EDILRED REX.	AEØEUREØ REX.	EDFLRED RE.
EDILRED REX.	AEØEURED REX.	AEDILRED RE.
EDIRED REX.	AEDELRED REX.	VEDIFI RE.
EDIURED REX.	ADELRYD REX.	EDELRED R.
EDILREDD REX.	AEDILRED REX.	EDILRED 'R.
EDIGREII REX.	AEDILRE REX.	EDIKED K.
EDILRED RCX.	EDILRED RE.	EDILRE R.
EDILRED DEX.	EDIRED RE.	EØJRED R.
EDILRED IEX.	EDILRED RE.	EDILRED Γ N R.
EDIRED REX.	EDILREDD RE.	EØFLRED R.
EDIRED REX.	EDIJRED RE.	ÆDILRED R.
CDIFRYD REX.	EDLIKED KE.	ÆDILRER.
CDITRED REX.	EDIKED KE.	ΛØIJRED R.
ELDED REX.	EDKED KE.	ÆILRED R.
EDLID REX.	CDIFRED RE.	ÆILRED R.
EØELRED REX.	EDLRED RE.	AEILRED IR.
EØELRED REX.	EDILRED ER.	EØELRED Rx.
EØEFRED REX.	EDILRED RI.	EØFLRED Rx.
EØEYRED REX.	EDØJD RE.	EDILRED Rx.
EØEFREP RFX.	EDLRED RE.	ÆDILRED Rx.
EØFLRED REX.	EDURED RE.	AEDILRE Rx.
EØFLRED REX.	EILRED RE.	AEILRED RX.
EØFLREP REX.	EILRED RE.	EDILRED E.
EØERED REX.	ØILRED RØ.	EDIKED E.
EDELRED REX.	EILRED RE.	EDILD E.
EDELRD REX.	EDLIRER RF.	EØDEILRD E.
EØEFRED REX.	EDI+LR+Q IE.	EDREILRD E.
EDELRED RCX.	ERILRED RE.	ÆDILRED E.
EDELRED REX.	ØJRED RØ.	EØEFRE EI.
EDELRFD REX.	IFRED RØ.	EDILRED X.
EØFLRED RFX.	IFRED RE.	EDIYRED X.
EDFLREP REX.	ILRED RE.	EDIKED X.
EDFLRED REX.	EDED KE.	EDIKED X.
EDFLRED REX.	EØELRED RE.	ØDIØED X.
EDERED RCX.	EØELREP RF.	EDIRED X.
EDERED REX.	EØFLRED RE.	EDIRED X.

EDIIREVD X.	ÆDILRED.	ΕΘΙΙREΛD.
FDIIREVD X.	ÆEDILRED.	EΘΓIDED.
EPILRF P X.	EDΞLRED.	EΛIGRED.
EΘILRED X.	EDILRED.	ΥDILRED.
EΘLIRED X.	EDIIRRED.	EDIERED.
EΘFLRED X.	EDIIRRED.	EDELRT.
ÆEDILRED X.	EDLRED.	EDLIEDRLIC.
EDILRED EX.	EDIIRRED.	FIΓHII . . DI.
FDIIRRED EX.		

Varieties of the Moneyers' names :--

AEDILRED.
 AEDIGÆD.
 AEILREDA.
 AEILREDR.
 ALDATES.
 ALDHERE.
 AÐHERE.
 AÐHERE.
 ALDHERI.
 AUGHERE.
 AUGHERE.
 AUCHERE.
 AUCHERE.
 ALGHERE.
 ALUHERE.
 ALZHERE.
 ALCHERE.
 AILHERE.
 ANFASIG.
 BARDVVLFF.
 BROÐER.
 BRODER.
 BRODFR.
 VBRODER.
 CEOLBÆLD.
 CEOLBALD.
 CEOLBALD.
 CEOLBAED.
 COENRED.
 COENRED.
 CVDHEARD.

EAHRED.	EVRDΛΛLF.
EANRED.	EARDVVLEDE.
EΛHRED.	EΛBVVΓE.
EANRE.	ERADVVLEDE.
EΛHREDE.	EARDALF.
EΛHREDI.	LVRDVVLF.
EANREDI.	EDELHEΓM.
EΛHREDΓ.	EDEΓHVH.
EAHREDO.	EDEΓHEH.
EVNƆEDO.	EDELHIƆ [= EDELHERE ?].
EΛNREDR.	EDLVEAD [= EDELVEARD].
EANREDR.	EDLVEAR.
EΛHREDʹ.	EILVAƆ.
EAHREDʹ.	EDELOR.
FΛHRED.	EDRED.
ƆANRED.	EΓEHOJH.
EΛHREX.	EORDRED.
EΛNRED.	EORDRED.
EANREX.	EORDREƆ.
ANRED.	EORDREĐ.
ΛHRED.	EORDRFD.
ΛNRED.	CORDRED.
ANRAD.	EORIRDED.
EANIV [= EANVVLF ?].	ORDRED.
ENVVLF.	OYƆRED.
EΛΛΛΛLE.	ORDƆED.
EJVVDVV [= EANVALD ?].	LORDRED.
EARDVVLF.	ERPINNE [P = W].
EARDVVLF.	ERPIHNE.
EARDΛΛLF.	EVRNVVLF [V = A].
EADVVVJ.	EVDRTecX.
EARDVVLE.	EVDRTEDA.
EARDΛΛLI.	FORDRED.
EVƆDΛΛΓE.	FORDRER.
EARDVF.	EORDRED.
EARDVJ.	UADVZEZ.
EARDVV.	HERRED.
EΛBDDVLE.	HERRD.
EΛBDDΛΛ.	HIGHERE.
EADVVV.	HVNLAF.
EARDVVF.	HNIFVLA.
EVRDVVLF.	

HNIΓVE.
 IEDIIKED [= ÆDILRED ?]
 IEDII·ED.
 INRED.
 IURED.
 LEOFDEGI.
 LEOFDEȜN.
 LEOFDEȜI.
 LEOFDEȜI.
 LEOFDEGI.
 LEOŁDEȜI.
 LEOFDEXN.
 LEOFDEȜIX.
 LEOFDEMX [Runic MX = DG].
 LEOFDEȜI.
 LEOFDEȜI.
 LEOFDEȝh TONET.
 LEOFDEȝh TONET.
 LEOFDEȜI TONET.
 LEOFDEȝ TONET.
 ĠEOFDEȜI.
 ĠEOFDEȝM.
 ĠEOFDEȜI.
 ĠEOFDEȝh.
 ĠEOFDEȝX.
 ĠEODEȜI.
 JEODEȜI.
 LEOFDGI.
 LEOEDEȜN.
 LEOFDȝN.
 LEOFDGN.
 LEOFDȝN.
 LEOFDȜI.
 LEOEDEȜI.
 LEODEȝIX.
 L+XFDEȝI.
 LEOGDEȜN.
 LEOCDEȜN.
 LEOFDEȝX.
 LEODEȝ.
 LEOFDEȝ.
 LEOFDEȜN.

LOFDEGCI.
 /// EOFDEȚI.
 ELEOFDEȚI.
 LEOCDEȚNX.
 LEOGDEȚNX.
 LEE...ȚN.
 ȚEOFȃEȚI.
 ȚEOFȃEȚIHX.
 ȚEOFȃEȚNX.
 MONNE.
 MOIINE.
 MOIINE.
 MONIIE.
 MONIȚ.
 MOIINȚ.
 MOIINȚ.
 WOIINE.
 MOIINȚ.
 HOIINE.
 HPIINE.
 ȚOIINE [Runic Ț = N].
 WNIȚ.
 NONIIE.
 ODILO.
 ODILO MO.
 ODILO.
 OIDILO.
 OLDAN.
 OLDAN.
 OGDVN.
 ORDVVLF.
 REDRERED.
 TIDVVLF.
 TIDAAȚF.
 TIDAAȚJ.
 VEIDELBERHT.
 VENDEȚBERHT.
 VEIDELBERȚ.
 VEIDEȚBERȚ.
 VEIDELBERȚ.
 VEIDEȚBERȚ.
 EIDEELBERȚ.
 VANDLEBEARHT.

VVLFRD.	PINTRD.
VVLFRD.	PIRTNDE.
VVLFRFD.	PIRTNRD.
VVLFIID.	DIINTRED [First D = W].
VVLEIID.	DIHTRED.
VVLERED.	DIRTNID.
ΛΛΓΕΒΕΔ.	DINTRED.
VVLEPED.	DIINTRED.
VVLFSIC.	DIIMID.
VVLFSIC.	DIHTRR.
VVIF2IC.	DIHTRD.
ΛΛΓF2IC.	DIRINDE.
ΛΛΓF2I2.	DIINTRED.
ΛΛIF2IC.	DIRNED.
ΛΠIE2IC [Runic Π = U].	DIRTNRD.
PERIND [P = W].	
VINTRED [V = W].	<i>Uncertain.</i>
VIHARED.	PADEVVE.
VIHTRED.	ELDFAA.
VIHARED.	ENVEX.
PINTRED [P = W].	EVDEAA.
PIHTRED.	IEAARE.
PIHTRED.	IEVVBE.

REDULF

ascended the throne on the expulsion of Æthelred II. in A.D. 844, and was slain by the Danes in the same year.

The coins of Redulf are stycas and are scarce. The following will give a general idea of the types:—

1. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RX. Cross.
Reverse.—+AUGHERE. Cross.
2. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Cross.
Reverse.—+BRODER. Cross. Fig. 55.
3. *Obverse*.—+REDVVLF REX. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+COENRED. Cross.
4. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+CVDBEREHT. Cross.
5. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF REX. Cross.
Reverse.—+EAVRED. Cross of five pellets. Fig. 56.

6. *Obverse*.—+ƷEDVƷ ƷE. Cross; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+EVƷDVVL. *retrograde*. Cross pommée.
7. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Cross and three dots.
Reverse.—+EOR'DRED. Cross of five pellets.
8. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Cross.
Reverse.—+FOR'DRED. Cross of five pellets.
9. *Obverse*.—+REDVVLF REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+HVAETNDD. Cross pattée. Fig. 57.
10. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Cross.
Reverse.—+HVN[AF]. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
11. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+MOINE. Pellet. Fig. 58.
12. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Cross, dot in each angle.
Reverse.—+ODILO. Cross. Fig. 59.
13. *Obverse*.—+HEDVVLF REX. Cross pattée.
Reverse.—+VENDEΓBER'H. Cross pattée. Fig. 60.
14. *Obverse*.—+REDVLF RE. Circle enclosing cross.
Reverse.—+VVLFRED. Cross.

Varieties of the King's name and title:—

REDVVLF REX.	REDVLF RE.	REDVLE RF.
REDVLF REX.	REDVΓF RE.	REOVLF RE.
REDVΓF REX.	REDVL RE.	REDVLF RX.
REDVLƷ REX.	REDVLE RE.	REDVLE E.
HEDVVLF REX.	REDVF RE.	REDVVƷ.
REDVVLF RE.	ƷEDVƷ ƷE.	

Varieties of the Moneyers' names:—

ALGHERE.	ƷVDƷEREhƷ.	EORDRER.
ƷLƷHERE.	ƷVDƷEREHL.	FORDRED.
ƷLƷHERE.	ƷVNV . . .	HERRED.
BRODER.	EANRED.	HVAETNOD.
BRODER.	EANRED.	HVAETNVD.
COENRED.	EƷIRED.	HVAETNDD.
COENCD.	EƷIRED.	HVƷETNDD.
COENED.	FƷIRED.	HVAETNODD.
COFNED.	EARDƷƷF.	HVAETIODD.
EOENRE.	EVƷDVVL.	HVAETIOD.
ƷVƷBEREhƷ [Ʒ=TH].	EORDRED.	OAETNRD.
ƷVDƷEREhƷ.	EORDRE.	HVNLAƷ.

MONNE.	WONNE.	VENDEΓBERH.
MOINE.	WONNE.	VENDEΓBERH.
MONIE.	MOIVVIE.	VENDEΓBERH.
MONHE.	ODILO.	VVLFRED.
MOINE.	VENDELBERHT.	PINTRED.
MONNE.	VENDEΓBERHT.	

OSBERCHT

succeeded to the throne on the death of Æthelred II. in A.D. 849. A portion of his subjects rebelled in A.D. 867 and set up a rival king, Ælla. The two kings at once united their forces to attack the Danes, who had taken possession of York, but were both slain by them with the greater part of their forces in the same year. With the defeat and death of Osbercht the dynasty of Northumbria ended, for the kingdom became the centre of the Danish power in England, and the silver penny entirely superseded the stycas series which had been so distinctive of its nationality.

The coins of Osbercht are stycas and are scarce. No coins of Ælla are known, and, as just mentioned, no stycas appear to have been issued in Northumbria after the death of Osbercht.

The following will give a general idea of the types of Osbercht's coins, which are of a very rough and blundered description.

1. *Obverse*.—OSBEΓCH ECX. Cross.
Reverse.—+BVIΛΓE. *retrograde*. Cross. Fig. 61.
2. *Obverse*.—OSBEΓCH1 BEX. Cross; dot in each angle.
Reverse.—EANREDRE. Pellet.
3. *Obverse*.—OSBERCH1 EX. Cross.
Reverse.—+EVIΛΓE. Pellet. Fig. 62.
4. *Obverse*.—:OSBERH:. Pellet.
Reverse.—+EARDVVLΓ. Cross.
5. *Obverse*.—OSBEΓH: B. *retrograde*. Pellet.
Reverse.—+EDEΓHEΓH. Circle enclosing pellet. Fig. 63.
6. *Obverse*.—:BOSBEΓH. *retrograde*. Pellet and two dots.
Reverse.—+EDV.IY. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Fig. 64.

7. *Obverse*.—OSBEKH. B. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+EDV·LHV. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
8. *Obverse*.—OZBKH·L K·X. Star of eight rays.
Reverse.—+WONN. *retrograde*. Pellet.
9. *Obverse*.—OSBKH·L EX. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—·L·NIBEKH·L Cross; dot in each angle.
10. *Obverse*.—OZBERH·L B. Pellet.
Reverse.—·L·L·G·L·K·ED. Cross.
11. *Obverse*.—OSBEBH·L B. Four pellets.
Reverse.—+VVL·F·S·IX·L. Cross. Fig. 65.
12. *Obverse*.—OZRBKH·L EX. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.
Reverse.—+VVG·F·Z·+IT. *retrograde*. Circle of dots enclosing pellet.

Varieties of the King's name and title :—

OSBERCHT REX.	OZBERH B.
OZBEKH·L K·X.	OSBEBH·L B.
OZBKH·L K·X.	OZBERH B.
OZBKH·L K·X.	OZBEKH B.
OZBKH·L K·X.	OZBRKH B.
OSBKH·L K·X.	OZBFRH B.
OSBRCHT REX.	OZBERHTE B.
OZBKH·L K·X.	OZBEK·+·LE B.
OSBVEH·L REX.	OZBERHTE B.
OSBERCH·L RE.	OSBERCHE C [C=CVNVNC?].
OSBERHT·L RE.	OSBERHE X.
OSBRCHT RE.	OSBERCHT.
OSBERCH·L R.	OSBERCH·L.
OZBERHT R.	OSBEREH·L.
OZBERH R.	OZBERCH·L.
OSBERGH EC.	OSBBERCH·L.
OZBEKH·L ECX.	OZBERH.
OSBERCH·L CX.	OZBERH.
OZBERCH·L EX.	OZBERTHE.
OSBERCH EX.	OZBERCHE.
OSBEKH·L EX.	OZBERCH·LE.
OSBERH EX.	OSBTHBEB.
OZRBKH·L EX.	OBERHTBS.
OSBKH·L EX.	OSVERCH·L.
OZBERH·L B.	OSVERCH·L.
OSBEKH B.	BOZBEKH.
OZBERH B.	

Varieties of the Moneyers' names :—

BANVLF.	EAVVLF.	RANVLF.
BVNAŁF.	ŁANNALF.	VENDELBERHT?
BVNAŁĖ.	EARDVVLF.	VINIBERHT.
BVVNAŁF.	EDELHELM.	VINIIBERHT.
ŁVDBERHT.	EDEΓHEΓM.	VINBEGHT.
EANRED.	EDEΓHEΓH.	VINEBCRH.
EANREDRE.	EDV.ИY.	VINIBEGHT.
EDNVRE.	EDVLHV.	VNIBERHT.
EANVVLF.	EDALHA.	AINIBERHT.
EANVLE.	EDVГHV.	AINIBEƆHL.
EANVLF.	ENBRH.	AINIIBEƆHL.
EANVLF.	ERPINNE.	VVLFRED.
EAINVVLE.	MOINE.	AAĖƆED.
EAINVVLF.	MONIE.	VVLF SIT.
EANAAĖ.	WONNE.	VVLF SI.
EANAAĖ.	WONNE.	VVLSIXT.
EANAAĖ.	WONNE.	VVLSIXT.
EANAAĖ.	WONNE.	VVLFZ+IT.
EAINĖ.	MONNE.	VVLSI.
EANNĖ.	MONNE.	VVLSIT.
EAAVVĖ.	MONNE.	
EAAVVLF.	NONIE.	

The obverse and reverse legends of many of the stycas are retrograde, and some of the letters are reversed or inverted, and others are in monogram.

My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., the President of the British Numismatic Society, for kindly supplying me with descriptions of some sceattas and many stycas in his collection, and for allowing casts to be taken of such of them as were required to illustrate this paper.

I am likewise indebted to Mr. N. Heywood for similar acts of courtesy; and also to Lord Grantley, F.S.A., for casts of several very rare sceattas.

[We trust that Major Creeke will continue this interesting subject with an account of the contemporary ecclesiastical coinage of Northumbria.—THE EDITORS.]



THE EARLY COINAGE OF HENRY II.

THE FIRST COINAGE OF HENRY II.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

UPON the death of King Stephen, which occurred at Canterbury on the 25th day of October, 1154, for the first time since the Conquest a King ascended the throne of England without opposition. By the treaty of Wallingford, the succession of the crown had been settled in favour of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, the grandson of Henry I.

According to the monastic historian, Roger of Wendover,

When Henry heard of Stephen's death, he came to Barbeffeure, where he waited one month for a favourable wind to cross the Channel. Meanwhile there was such great tranquility in England, as rarely happens when its kings die, for the love and fear which the people felt for Duke Henry, their future Sovereign. On the 7th of December he landed in England, and was received with much joy, both by the clergy and the laity, and on the 19th of December, being the Sunday next before Christmas Day, he was saluted king with universal acclamation, and crowned at Westminster by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the Archbishops, Bishops, and Barons of both England and Normandy. As soon as he was made King, he began to resume possession of the cities, castles, and towns which belonged to the Crown, to destroy the rebellious castles, to expel the foreigners, and principally Flemings, from the kingdom and to depose the pseudo-earls, on whom Stephen had lavishly bestowed almost all the proceeds of his exchequer.—*Dr. Giles.*

Although Henry on this occasion remained exactly twelve months in England, he was probably too much engaged in settling the political

affairs of the country to turn his attention to such matters of constitutional detail as the currency, and early in January, 1156, he sailed for Normandy and stayed abroad until April, 1157. During the whole of this period it would appear certain that Stephen's money remained current in England, for Roger de Hoveden tells us that it was not until Henry's return (although he erroneously gives this to the year 1156) that "he issued a new coinage which was the only one received and current throughout the realm." That it was his first coinage is clear, because in 1180 his great recoinage was described as *secunda moneta*.

Nevertheless, there is some little uncertainty as to the exact date when his first coinage was actually issued, for although 1156 has been usually accepted as the date, Roger of Wendover and Matthew of Westminster record the fact under the year 1158. Also John de Taxter, although confusing it with the second coinage of 1180, refers to the date of coinage as 1158. The weight of evidence, therefore, is in favour of the latter year, although it is remarkable that Henry should have allowed his predecessor's money to remain current and unchanged for more than three years after his accession. But as to the duration of the issue of his coinage there is no doubt, for nearly all authorities agree that it remained current until the year 1180.

Although it had thus a period of issue of about twenty-two years, we have the records of only five discoveries of it in modern times. Fortunately one of these, namely, at Tealby in Lincolnshire, contained five thousand seven hundred specimens, and therefore, although the greater portion of the hoard was remelted into bullion, the money is by no means scarce in our cabinets. The type is as follows :—

Obverse.—King's bust crowned, with a double row of pearls surmounted by three fleurs de lys, and mantled. Front faced or slightly inclined to the left. Sceptre to left, terminating in a cross pattée, sloping over the King's right shoulder and held in his right hand. No inner circle.

Reverse.—Within an inner circle, a large cross, sometimes a small star of four rays saltire-wise in the centre. In each angle a small cross pattée pointing to the centre.

Obverse legend.—

✱ **HENR RE** ✱
NENRI
 ✱ **HENRI R**
 ✱ **HENRI RE**
 ✱ **HENRI RE** ✱
 ✱ **HENRI R A**
 ✱ **HENRI R AG**
 ✱ **HENRI R AN**
 ✱ **HENRI RE** ✱ **AN**
 ✱ **HENRI RE** ✱ **AGL**
 ✱ **HENRI RE** ✱ **ANG**
 ✱ **HENRI RE** ✱ **ANGL**

Often colons separating the words and at the end of the legend.

Reverse legend.—Moneyers' names followed by the word **ON** and the name of the mint where struck. In some instances letters or contracted words follow the name of the moneyer as ✱ **PIRES : MER : ON : LVN**¹ The legend is invariably divided by a cross, and single pellets or colons usually separate the words and often end the inscription.

Alphabet.—**A K—B—C—D—E—F—G—h—i—I—L—M—N—O—P—R—S—T—V—W—P—*—:—D—.**

Varieties.—Except in the obverse legend there is remarkable uniformity of design in the coins as a whole, the only three known definite varieties, all of which are in Mr. Carlyon-Britton's cabinet, being :—

1. *Obverse.*—... **ENR ... E** ✱ **U**. Type as usual, but with an inner circle.
Reverse.—..... : **ON** : Usual type. Fig. 24.
2. *Obverse.*—✱ **HE . RI : RE** ✱ : Type as the last.
Reverse.—✱ **WALTER** Usual type. Probably of the Northampton mint. Fig. 23.
3. *Obverse.*—.. **ENRI RE** ✱ : **AN** Type as last.
Reverse.—✱ **ING** **RA** Usual type. Northampton mint. Fig. 14.

On none of the three coins is the name of the king quite distinct.

Mints :—

Bristol.	Chester.	Exeter.
Canterbury.	Colchester.	Gloucester.
Carlisle.	Durham.	Hereford.

¹ In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

Ilchester.	Northampton.	Thetford.
Ipswich.	Norwich.	Wainfleet.
Launceston.	Oxford.	Wallingford.
Leicester.	St. Edmundsbury.	Wilton.
Lincoln.	Salisbury.	Winchester.
London.	Shrewsbury.	Worcester (?).
Lynn.	Stafford.	York.
Newcastle.	Stamford.	

The coins are all pennies of fine silver, but halfpennies were still formed by cutting the penny into two halves along the lines of the reverse cross.

Finds.—First at Royston, Hertfordshire; secondly, at Bramham Moor, Yorkshire; thirdly, at Tealby, Lincolnshire; fourthly, at Ampthill, Bedfordshire; and fifthly, at Awbridge, near Romsey, Hampshire.

There cannot be any doubt that these coins represent the first coinage of Henry II., for it was discovered by Sir Henry Ellis,

That whereas the names of the moneyers on coins of this type struck at Wilton are ASCHETIL, LANTIER, and WILLEM. There is a record [called the Chancellor's Roll] in the British Museum of the eleventh year of Henry II., in which the two former, whose names are both very uncommon, and occur as of this town on no other type, are mentioned as moneyers at Wilton.¹

The hoard found at Tealby, as previously mentioned, numbered five thousand seven hundred specimens, all of one type, and was examined by the late Dr. Taylor Combe. He communicated a paper upon the subject, which was read before the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries on the 24th of February, 1814, and in it, referring to the whole find, he stated:—

The coins were as fresh as when they were first issued from the mint, yet their execution was so bad that on many of them scarcely two letters could be discerned. The workmanship of these coins can, indeed, confer no credit on the state of the arts in the time of Henry II.; yet it is deserving of attention, that the weights of them, though apparently regulated by a pair of shears, were adjusted with extraordinary accuracy.

¹ Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, p. 189.

The following is the analysis of Dr. Taylor Combe's precise tests of the weights of the coins in this hoard :—

50 pieces were weighed separately and found to be 22 grains each.
100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 6 grains.
100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 14 grains.
200 were weighed against 200, the difference was 11 grains.
300 were weighed against 300, the difference was 13 grains.
400 were weighed against 400, the difference was 22 grains.
500 were weighed against 500, the difference was 19 grains.
600 were weighed against 600, the difference was 6 grains.
700 were weighed against 700; there was no difference, $\frac{1}{2}$ a grain turned the scale.
800 were weighed against 800, the difference was 14 grains.
900 were weighed against 900, the difference was 2 grains.
1000 were weighed against 1000, the difference was 14 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 17 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 14 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 6 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 3 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 16 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 23 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 8 grains.

5127 weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 5 dwt.

They should have weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 19 dwt. 18 grains. The difference is 14 dwt. 18 gr., which, divided amongst the whole number, makes each coin to have weighed nearly within $\frac{1}{8}$ of a grain of its proper weight.

The Tealby coins were handed over to the Crown as treasure trove, and, after an examination, during which selections were made for the British Museum and for a few favoured individuals, the remaining five thousand one hundred and twenty-seven specimens, the total given above, were melted at the Tower of London.

The law of treasure trove has never been appreciated by the public, who have always considered that unclaimed property should belong to the finder as against all the world, save the true owner.

Such, however, is not the case, the ownership of hidden treasure being vested in the Crown.¹

Had the Tealby find passed into private hands, probably over five thousand coins, perfect as when they left the mint, would have been preserved for our inspection.

Of the Royston and Bramham Moor finds little reliable information has been preserved. But the hoard found at Ampthill numbered one hundred and forty-two specimens, of which, however, only forty-eight were legible. All the coins were, again, of one type, and were examined by the late Archdeacon Pownall, who communicated particulars of the find in a paper read before the members of the Numismatic Society of London on the 15th of May, 1862. In reference to the irregular shape of the money, he stated :

There are not more than twelve of the one hundred and forty-two [coins] before me which can with justice be described as round ; of sixty-seven more, it might be said they are certainly not round ; thirty-six of the remainder approach more nearly still to a rude square, or five and six-sided figure[s] ; and four are positively quadrangular.

In reference to the analysis the same gentleman remarks :

I found the whole number, being one hundred and forty-two coins, weighed 6 oz. 10 dwts. $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains ; and that, taken in lots of twenty-five at a time, the sum was thus made up :

First lot weighed 23 dwts. $0\frac{1}{2}$ grain.

Second lot weighed 23 dwts.

Third lot weighed 22 dwts. 20 grains.

Fourth lot weighed 22 dwts. 20 grains.

Fifth lot weighed 23 dwts. $\frac{1}{4}$ grain.

Sixth lot (seventeen coins) 15 dwts. $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

The mean weight of each coin will therefore be a fraction over 22 grains, and the loss in weight on each something less than half a grain, a fact which the evidence of the eye will almost sustain.

The Awbridge find, as described by Mr. Grueber, was discovered a year or two ago, and is said to have originally consisted of about one hundred and eighty coins. Of these one hundred and thirty-eight were sent to the British Museum, where fifty-eight were selected for the

¹ See Mr. Carlyon-Britton's paper on *Treasure Trove*, p. 333, *post*.

National Collection. The remaining eighty were subsequently purchased by Messrs. Spink & Son. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight coins examined at the British Museum thirty-four were of the reign of King Stephen. Of these thirty-one were of his last type (Hks. 268). The remaining one hundred and four coins were of the coinage now under consideration.

It may prove interesting to know the value of the coins of the Norman period; that is what they would purchase when they were issued. The price of wheat, of course, varied with the seasons, there being no importing of corn in those days. The country was entirely dependent on its own resources, and, owing to the difficult communication between the different parts of the kingdom, corn varied greatly in price. Thus in A.D. 1043 wheat was sold at five shillings the quarter, whilst in A.D. 1125, owing to a scarcity, it realized twenty shillings the quarter. About A.D. 1145 forty sheep were valued at twenty shillings; an ox at three shillings; and four hens sold for twopence; a ram being of the value of eightpence. If we consider an ox to-day worth £20, and that it was worth three shillings in A.D. 1145, we must necessarily conclude that the purchasing power of a silver penny at that time was equivalent in value to eleven or twelve shillings of our current money.

The following is a list of the moneyers' names and places of mintage of the first coinage of Henry II. Colons, which sometimes occur at the ends of the legends, and other minor details, are omitted, as to give all variations would treble the length of the list without serving any useful purpose. The lettering is reproduced as closely as circumstances will admit, but it must be remembered that many of the legends are taken from records of the finds in which ordinary type has been used, and therefore the distinctions between **C** and **E**, **G** and **B**, **M** and **W**, **S** and **U** and **V** and **P**, &c., cannot always be drawn.

REVERSE LEGENDS OF THE COINS.

The figures (1), (2), etc., refer to the numbers upon the Plate.

BRISTOL.

ELAF · ON · BRISTO¹
 ELAF · ON · BRES
 RILARD · ON · BRIS
 RILARD · ON · BRES
 RILARD · ON · BRISTO
 T D · ON · BRI

CANTERBURY.

GOLDHAVE : ON : LA¹
 GOLDHAVOC : ON : LAN (2).
 GOLDHA VOCE : ON : IA
 RILARD : ON : LA¹ (1).
 RILARD : ON : LAN¹
 RILARD : ON : LANT
 RILARD : ON : LANTO
 RILARD : M : ON : LA¹
 RILARD : M : ON : LAN¹
 RILARD : ON : M : LAN
 RILARD : ME : ON : AN
 RILARD : MI : ON : LAN
 ROGIER : ON : LA¹
 ROGIER : ON : LAN
 ROGIER : ON : LANT
 ROGIER : ON : LANTO¹
 WIVLF : ON : LAN¹
 WIVLF : ON : LANTO¹
 WIVLF : ON : LANTOR¹
 WIVLF : ON : LATO

CARLISLE.

W . . . M : ON : LAER¹

WILAD : ON :¹
 WILLEM : ON : LA¹
 WILLEM : ON : LARD (3).
 WILLEM : ON : LARDV
 WILLELM : ON : LAR
 WILLELM : ON : LARDV

CHESTER.

ANDREV¹
 ANDR . . : ON : LEST
 W M : ON : LEST
 W M : ON : LESTE (4).
 : ON : LES

COLCHESTER.

ALWIN : ON : COLE
 ALWIN : ON : COLEC
 RIC . . . : ON : COLE¹
 P : ON : COL
 PI COLE

DURHAM.

IOHAN : ON : DVNDE
 WALTIER : ON : DVN¹ (5).
 WALTIER : ON : DVN . . .
 WILLAM : ON : DV²

EXETER.

EDW : ON : E#LES
 GVNCELIN : ON : E#C
 GVNCELIN : ON : E#CS
 GVNCELIN : ON : E#CE

¹ In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

² Brumell catalogue (unreliable).

RICARD : ON : E#LE
RILARD¹ : ON : E#LES
RILARD : ON : E#SE
. : ON : #SE
ROGIER : ON : E#LE
ROGIER : ON : E#LES²

GLOUCESTER.

. . . ADVLF : ON : GLOE
ADV : GLOECES
NICOLE : ON : GLE³
ROBERT : ON : GLE² (6).
ROBMRT : ON : GLE
RODBERT : ON : GLOE
SA : ON : GLOECE
SA : ON : GLOECES

HEREFORD.

. . DRIV : ON : DE
RODBERT : ON : DHEREFOR
S ON : DHEREF
STE : ON : DHEREFOR
STE : ON : DHEREFORD

ILCHESTER.

ADAM : ON : IVELLE . .²
. . . M : ON : IVELLE . .² (8).
RILARD : ON : IVE
RILARD : ON : IVELLE² (7).
RO : ON : IVELLE
. : ON : IVEL

IPSWICH.

NICOLE : ON : GI²
NICOLE : ON : GIPES²
NICOL : ON : GIPE
NICOL : ON : GIPEV
NICOL : ON : GIPEW
ROBERT : ON : GIP
ROBERT : ON : GIPE
RODBERD : ON : GI
RODBERD : ON : GIP
RODBERD : ON : GIPE
TVRSTAIN : ON : GI
TVRSTAIN : ON : GIP¹ (9).
TVRSTAN : ON : GIP

LAUNCESTON.³

ALF N : LAN .²
W . . . : ON : LANST

LEICESTER.

RILARD : ON : LERC²
ROBERT : ON : LERE
RODBERT : ON : LERC²
RODBERT : ON : LERE
RVDBERT : ON : LERE

LINCOLN.

ANDREV : ON : LINE
GODRIC : ON : LINE²
GOTHA : ON : LINCO
LAFRAM : ON : LI

¹ The Pipe Roll for the 4th year of Henry II. tells us that Richard Fitz Estrange, moneyer of Exeter, owed 100 marks of silver for a fine.

² In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

³ Then called Lanstefandun.

LAFRAM : ON : LIN
 LAFRAM : ON : LINCO¹
 RAVEN² : ON : LINCO
 RAVEN : ON : LINCOL
 SVEIN : ON : LINE

LONDON.

ALWI . . . : ON : LVNDE
 ALWIN : ON : LVND
 ALPIN : ON : LVND¹
 ALPINE : ON : LV
 ALWINE : ON : LVN
 ALWINE : ON : LVND
 DE . . . : ON : LVNDENE
 EDØVND : ON : LVN
 EDMVND : ON : LVN¹
 EDMVND : ON : LVND
 GEFFREI : ON : LVND¹ (11).
 GEFFRI : ON : LVN
 GODEFREI : ON : L
 GODEFREI : ON : LVN
 GODEFEI : ON : LVND
 GODEFEI : ON : LVNDEN
 ØVMFREI : ON : LVN
 ØVNFREI : ON : LVN
 IOÐAN : ON : LVN
 IOÐAN : ON : LVND¹
 IOÐAN : ON : LVNDEN
 LEFWINE : ON : LVN
 LIWINE : ON : LVN

MARTIN : ON : LVN¹
 MARTIN : ON : LVND
 PERES : ON : LVND
 PIRES : ON : LVND¹
 PIRES : ON : LVNDE
 PIRES : SAL : ON : LVN
 . . . ES : ON : S : LV
 PIRES : M : ON : LVN
 PIRES : ME : ON : LVN
 PIRES : MER : ON : LVN¹ (10).
 PIERES : M : ON : LVN
 PIERES : ON : LVN
 PIERES : ON : LVNDE
 RICARD : ON : LVN
 RICARD : ON : LVNDE
 RODBERT : ON : LVN
 SPETMAN : ON : LV
 SWETMAN : ON : LVN¹
 WID : ON : LVNDEN
 WIT : ON : LVNDE
 WIT : ON : LVNDEN¹

LYNN.

ROGIER : ON : LEN

NEWCASTLE.³

WILLAM : ON : NE⁴ (12).
 WILLAØ : ON : NE¹
 WLLAØ : ON : NE
 WILLEM : ON : NEWCÆS

¹ In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

² A William filius Raven in 1170 founded Hampole Priory, 7 miles from Doncaster. He is also known as William Clarefait filius Godrici, who made his escape from Chester Castle in 1153, where it was thought he was privy, with William de Peveril, to the poisoning of Ranulf, Earl of Chester.

³ The coins reading **ON : NE** have usually been assigned to Newark, but the coincidence of the moneyer's name, and the evidence of the coin reading **ON : NEWCÆS**, are in favour of their being given to Newcastle. As to the mint of Newark, see Mr. Andrew's *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.*, pp. 316-18.

⁴ In Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's collection.

WILLEM : ON : NIVE
 WILLEM : ON : NIVLA
 WILLELM : ON : NIV¹
 WILLELM : ON : NIVLA¹
 W : ON : . . VO : E :¹ (13).

NORTHAMPTON.

EII ND : ON : NOR^hA
 ING^hERAS : ON : NORAM
 ING : RA^h (14).
 NICOLE : ON : NORAM³
 PIRES : ON : NOR^hA
 REIN N : NOR^h⁴
 RE . . . : ON : NOR^hA⁴
 WALTIER : ON : NOR^hA
 : ON : NO^hA

NORWICH.

AGEL^hAN : ON : NORW
 GILEBERT : ON : NOR
 GILEBERT : ON : NORW
 GILLEBERT : ON : NORW
 GOD . RI : ON : N¹ (15).
 HERBERT : ON : NOR
 HERBERT : ON : NORVI
 HERBERT : ON : NORWI
 HEREBERT : R : ON : NOR¹ (16).
 HVE : ON : NORWIC¹
 HW : ON : NORWI
 HWE : ON : NOREWIC
 NICOL : ON : NORW
 NICOL : ON : NORWI
 NICOL : ON : NOREPI¹

REI^hOVND : ON : NOR¹
 REINIER : ON : NOR¹
 REINER : ON : NOREPI¹
 RILARD : ON : NOREV
 RILARD : ON : NOREL
 PILOT : ON : NOR
 PILOT : ON : NORWI
 PILOT : ON : NOREV¹
 WILELM : ON : NO
 WILLELM : ON : NORW

OXFORD.

ADAM : ON : O*ENE¹
 ADAM : ON : O*ENFO
 ASE . . . : ON : O*EN
 ROGIER : ON : O*ENF

ST. EDMUNDSBURY.

HENRI : ON : S : EDM¹
 HENRI : ON : S : EDMV
 RAVL : S : ED
 RAVL : ON : S : EDM
 RAVL : ON : S : EDMV¹
 ROVLF : ON : S : EDM
 PILEM : ON : S : EDM
 WILLAM : S : EDMVN
 PILLAM : S : ED^h
 PILLAM : S : ED^hVN
 WILLEM : ON : E¹
 WILLEM : ON : SE : ED¹ (17).
 WILLEM : SE : ON : ED¹ (18).
 WILLELM : ON : S : EDM
 PILLELM : ON : S : EDM

¹ In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

² See p. 99.

³ Lindsay's sale catalogue, 1867 (unreliable).

⁴ These readings are upon catalogue authority only.

SALISBURY.

DANIEL : ON : SAL
 DANIEL : ON : SALE
 LEVRIC : ON : SALEB
 LIVR N : SALEB

WILLAM : ON : TE
 WILLAM : ON : TEFO
 WILLEO : ON : TETFO
 WILLELM : ON : TEF
 WILLEOAN : ON : TEF⁴

SHREWSBURY.

. : SALOPES¹ (19).

WAINFLEET.

WALTIER : ON : WAIN

STAFFORD.

COLBRAND : ON : STAF² (20).

WALLINGFORD.

FVLCHE : ON : VALI² (21).
 : ON : WALI

STAMFORD.

GO N : STA
 R . . N . R : ON : TAN³
 WILLEO : ON : STA
 WILLEO . ONN ST⁴.
 W : ON : 2TA⁴.

WILTON.

ASCETIL : ON : PILT⁵
 LANTIER : ON : PILTV⁵
 IER : ON : PIL . .²
 WILLEM : ON : VILT
 : ON : WIL
 : ON : PILTI²

THETFORD.

E N : TET
 SIWATE : ON : TED
 SIWATE : ON : TEFFO
 SIWAT : ON : TIEF
 TVRSTAIN : ON : TE
 TVRSTAIN : ON : TE
 TVRSTAN : ON : TE
 TVRSTEIN : ON : TE²
 TVRSTEIN : ON : TEFF
 TVRSTEIN : ON : TETI²
 TVRST . . IN : ON : TI
 TVRS ON : TE

WINCHESTER.

ANDR IN²
 HERBERT : ON : WI²
 HERBERT : ON : WIN
 HERBERT : ON : WINC
 HERBERT : ON : WINCS
 HEREBERT : ON : PIN² (22).
 HEREMAN : ON : PIN
 RICARD : ON : WIN
 RICARD : ON : PINCS²
 RICARD : ON : WINCE

¹ *Obv.*— RE* ANGL, *unique*, in Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's collection.

² In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

³ In the Royal Mint collection, where it is assigned to Taunton ; but the moneyer **REINER** coined at Norwich, and therefore it is more probable that this is a Stamford coin. In the same catalogue a coin is read **REIN N : NORH**, which, if correct, would be of Northampton, a mint still nearer to Stamford.

⁴ In Mr. W. Sharp Ogden's collection.

⁵ See p. 100.

RILARD : ON : WINCEST
WILLEM : ON : WINCES¹
. . . SHERT : ON : WIN
. : ON : PIN

WORCESTER (?)

. : ON : VIP
NICOLE : ON : PIP¹
ROBERT : ON : WIW

YORK.

GODWINE : ON : EVERW¹
HERBERT : ON : EVER

HERBERD : ON : EVE
IORDAN : ON : EVERW
IORDAN : ON : EVERWI
LVD . . : ON : EVEWI
PILLEM : ON : E . ER¹
WVLFSI : ON : EVERWI
. . . IFFI : ON : EVEWIC
W : ON : EWE²

Unappropriated.

ENGELRAM :¹
GIL : ON : L

THE MONEYERS AND THEIR MINTS.

ADAM Oxford.
ADAM Ilchester.
ADV . . . Gloucester.
ÆGELRAN Norwich.
ALWIN Colchester.
ALWIN London.
ALPIN London.
ALWINE London.
ANDREV Chester.
ANDREV Lincoln.
ANDR . . Chester.
ANDR . . Winchester.
ÆSCHETIL Wilton.
ÆSC . . . Oxford.
COLBRAND Stafford.
DANIEL Salisbury.
DE . . . London.
E Thetford.
EDMVND London.
EDOVND London.
EDW Exeter.

ELAF Bristol.
EII ND Northampton.
FVLLE Wallingford.
GEFFREI London.
GEFFRI London.
GILEBERT Norwich.
GILLEBERT Norwich.
GIL L
GO . . . Stamford.
GODEFREI London.
GODEFEI London.
GODRIC Lincoln.
GODWINE York.
GOLDHÆVI Canterbury.
GOLDHÆVOC Canterbury.
GOLDHÆVOCE Canterbury.
GVNCELIN Exeter.
HENRI St. Edmundsbury.
HERBERD York.
HERBERT Norwich.
HERBERT Winchester.

¹ In Mr. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

² In Mr. Verity's possession.

HERBERT York.	REIN . . Northampton?
HEREBERT Norwich.	REINER Norwich.
HEREMAN Winchester.	R . . N . R Stamford?
HVE Norwich.	REINIER Norwich.
HVMFREI London.	RIC . . . Colchester.
HVNFREI London.	RICARD Bristol.
HW Norwich.	RICARD Canterbury.
HWE Norwich.	RICARD Exeter.
INGERAS Northampton.	RICARD Ilchester.
IOHAN Durham.	RICARD Leicester.
IOHAN London.	RICARD London.
IORDAN York.	RICARD Norwich.
LAFRAM Lincoln.	RICARD Winchester.
LANTIER Wilton.	RO Ilchester.
LEFWINE London.	ROBERT Gloucester.
LEVRIC Salisbury.	ROBERT Ipswich.
LIWINE London.	ROBERT Leicester.
LIVR . . Salisbury.	ROBERT Worcester.
LVD . . York.	RODBERT Ipswich.
MARTIN London.	RODBERT Gloucester.
NICOL Ipswich.	RODBERT Hereford.
NICOL Norwich.	RODBERT Leicester.
NICOLE Gloucester.	RODBERT London.
NICOLE Ipswich.	ROGIER Canterbury.
NICOLE Northampton?	ROGIER Exeter.
NICOLE Worcester.	ROGIER Lynn.
PERES London.	ROGIER Oxford.
PI Colchester.	ROVLF St. Edmundsbury.
PILOT Norwich.	RVDBERT Leicester.
PIERES London.	SA . . . Gloucester.
PIERES : M London.	SIWAT Thetford.
PIRES London.	SIWATE Thetford.
PIRES Northampton.	SVEIN Lincoln.
PIRES : MER London.	SWETMAN London.
PIRES : SAL London.	SPETMAN London.
RAVEN Lincoln.	TVRSTAIN Ipswich.
RAVL St. Edmundsbury.	TVRSTAIN Thetford.
RE . . . Northampton?	TVRSTAN Ipswich.
REIOVND Norwich.	TVRSTAN Thetford.

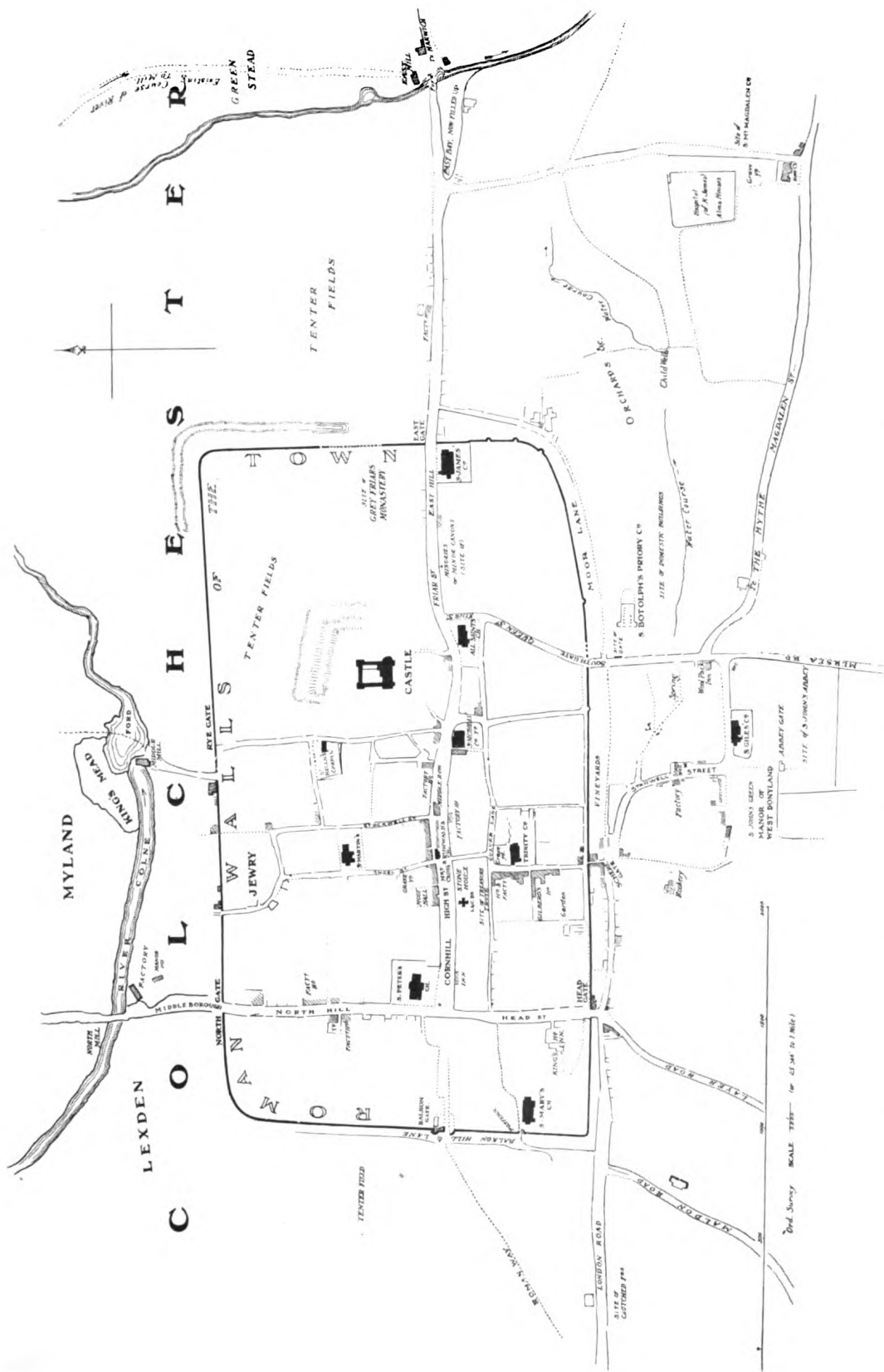
List of Moneyers.

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TVRSTEIN	Thetford.	WILLELM	St. Edmundsbury.
T D	Bristol.	PILLEO	St. Edmundsbury.
W . .	Launceston.	WILLELM	Thetford.
WALTIER	Durham.	WILLEM	Carlisle.
WALTIER	Northampton.	WILLEM	Newcastle.
WALTIER	Wainfleet.	WILLEM	St. Edmundsbury.
PI	Colchester.	WILLEO	Stafford.
WID	London.	WILLEO	Thetford.
WILAO	Carlisle.	WILLEM	Wilton.
WILELM	Norwich.	WILLEM	Winchester.
WILEM	St. Edmundsbury.	PILLEM	York.
WILLAM	Durham.	WILLEMAN	Thetford.
WILLAM	Newcastle.	WIT	London.
WILLAO	Newcastle.	WIVLF	Canterbury.
WILLAM	St. Edmundsbury.	WVLFSI	York.
PILLAO	St. Edmundsbury.		
WILLAM	Thetford.		
WILLELM	Carlisle.		
W M	Chester.		
WILLELM	Newcastle.		
WILLELM	Norwich.		

Fragmentary.

. . . **ADVLF** Gloucester.
. . **DRIV** Hereford.
. . . **IFFI** York.
. . **ShERT** Winchester.




MAP OF OLD COLCHESTER, adapted from the Ordnance Survey by Major J. E. Bale, R.E.

The + marks the site of the Treasure Trove of 1902.

THE COLCHESTER HOARD.

BY GEORGE RICKWORD,

Librarian to the Public Library, Colchester.

N unsolved mystery is as abhorrent to the mind of the historical student as a vacuum is said to be to Dame Nature. So the inevitable result of a find such as that which occurred at Colchester in July, 1902, of some 12,000 silver pennies, was to arouse speculation in the minds of all those who take an interest whether in our national or local history as to its possible origin.¹ To the numismatologist, perhaps, the question is only important as affording corroboration or otherwise of any theories he may have formed from the coins themselves, but the general public is as much interested in the personal as in the scientific equation.

Is there then any likelihood of ascertaining the original owner of the Colchester Hoard? A number of theories have been suggested, with a greater or less degree of plausibility, but the one usually quoted is that of Mr. H. A. Grueber, in his excellent report of the find published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. iii., who is of opinion that the hoard was collected shortly before the issue of the "long-cross" coinage of 1248, with a view to being exchanged for the new money as it became ready for circulation.

There is no valid argument against this theory that does not apply equally well to any other theory on the subject, *i.e.*, how to account for the failure of the assumed purpose, for the only connection between the concealment of the treasure (which formed no necessary

¹ For types of the coins in this hoard, see the plate opposite page 32 of this volume.

part of the transaction and must remain unexplained) and the new coinage is the coincidence of date; but even this is as yet an open question, for the actual year of deposit is by no means definitely ascertained. Moreover, as re-coinages occurred at intervals throughout our Saxon and mediæval history, a similar explanation might equally well be offered for every hoard discovered in England.

Such a scheme as that suggested by Mr. Grueber could hardly be the work of a single individual. The amassing of so considerable a sum in the short time available by this theory must have involved the co-operation of several persons, and makes it more difficult to account for the non-discovery of the money, even on the possible assumption of the sudden death of its lawful owner before he could give information of its whereabouts.

The hoard has rather the appearance of one which had been very gradually formed by some person whose position in the town would account for the possession of so large a sum in ready-money, which may have been either hidden by himself for security, or secreted in some time of confusion by a trusted agent, seduced by the *auri sacra fames*, and forced by circumstances to abandon his prey.

First, however, let us briefly review certain alternative suggestions advanced by various local antiquaries.

At the date of the concealment Colchester had held for nearly a century an important Jewish settlement. The Ghetto, as will be seen by reference to the accompanying plan, was situated at the lower or northern end of the two Stockwell Streets, not many hundred yards from the site of the find, and it has been suggested that we have here the capital of some mediæval banker, who, with the yellow patch sewn on his gaberdine, passed to and fro freely among the burgesses, lending to needy knight or zealous priest the wherewithal to repair his castle or to enlarge his church.

But it is to a high degree improbable that a Jew would conceal treasure in Christian ground; even more so that he would abandon it, and the fact that it was not until nearly fifty years later, in 1290, that the race was banished from the kingdom, with liberty to take their moveable wealth, renders this solution almost untenable.

There is nothing to connect either the locality, or the hoard, with the two great religious houses at Colchester, the Abbey of St. John the Baptist, or the Priory of St. Botolph; they had their own treasuries, and embezzlement, which under such circumstances would be coupled with sacrilege, would have proved doubly hazardous.

It has been suggested that we have here the savings of some thrifty burgess, or possibly of several burgesses, stored up against the prying eyes of the tax gatherer. But in the latter case reflection shows that numbers would prove fatal to secrecy, and in the former that no individual burgess could possess such wealth, especially in coined money. This fact is obvious from the details of the taxations of 1296 and 1301, which the present writer has been permitted to treat somewhat fully in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. ix. At that period no burgess possessed ten pounds' worth of goods in all, and the whole ready-money in the town, of which no individual merchant or trader had more than a few shillings, fell far short of the sum hidden here, which would amount to more than a fourth of the total assessment of the borough and its four hamlets. If no private burgess can have owned it, no public official would have been able to secrete a sum far in excess of the annual Fee Farm Rent, generally in arrear, or of the various tenths and fifteenths collected from time to time.

One class of residents, and that hardly large enough to be called a class, remains unnoticed. We know from Domesday that certain county magnates had houses within the borough; but possibly the superior attractions of the metropolis had drawn most of them away; at any rate we seldom meet their names in local history. But there is one family for whom we may claim connection both with the site of the find and with a possible origin for the hoard.

On the death, without heirs, in 1120, of Eudo, the Norman Overlord of Colchester and Constable of its Castle, his private estates in Colchester, Lexden and Stanway appear to have passed to Hamo de St. Clare, who styles him in a deed *dominus meus*. Hamo's daughter and heiress, Gunnore, brought them, about 1154, to her husband, William de Lanvalai, a Judge-itinerant. Their great-

grand-daughter and heiress, Hawise, became in 1216 the ward of the Justiciar Hubert de Burgh, for 16 years the powerful minister to Henry III., and Constable of Colchester Castle in succession to her father, William de Lanvalai the third. He married Hawise to his eldest son, John de Burgh, who was knighted in 1229, and to him, certainly prior to 1233, she carried the Lexden and Stanway estates of Eudo Dapifer. Now tradition has always reported that a stone house in which Eudo himself lived stood opposite to the old Moot-Hall and to the site of the present twentieth-century Town Hall. From documentary evidence we know that he had such a house in the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and it is by no means improbable that he should have one here, apart from his official residence at the Castle. Traces of the history of this house often meet us in the local records. In 1296 one Richard del *Stonhus* was taxed for a seventh. In 1349 it was in the hands of the Oliver family, who gave several bailiffs to the town, and are still remembered by a small estate on the outskirts. The adjoining house on the west was occupied by another municipal magnate, Warin *fil* William, bailiff and one of those "two discreet, loyal, and honest men" summoned to represent their town in parliament, whose probable descendant Adam Waryn is spoken of as the owner of the "stone hall" in 1438. In the seventeenth century it appears to have been modernised and re-fronted by an opulent tradesman, but about 1730, only five years prior to the advent of the historian Morant, it was demolished. The site of this mansion is enclosed by ancient roads on three sides; on the north by High Street, on the south by Culver Street, or Lane (*venella que se extendit de ecclesiâ S. Trinitatis versus Heth Stratum*) and on the east by Whitefoot (now Pelham's) Lane; and assuming the house to have stood nearly in the centre of the north front of the plot, its western boundary would include the site of the find. See plan. The number of acres attached to most of the houses of the burgesses in Domesday, and the fact that the 300 houses of the town in 1301 stood in semi-urban parishes whose area exceeded 1,200 acres, render an allowance of about 3 roods of ground for a mansion by no means improbable, even in the heart of the borough. Lexden Lodge, now a moated farm house, about a mile

beyond the walls, may have been the occasional residence of Hawise de Burgh, but the "*Aula de Lexden*," which paid quit rent to the Corporation, stood just outside the North Gate, and here, until recently, the Manor Courts were held. Both houses were within the limits of the borough. The Stone House within the walls, and in the centre of the municipal and ecclesiastical life of the town, may well have been the residence, during the minority of the heiress, of a steward of the Lanvalai family, Simon *fil* Marcian, who was possibly also employed by Earl Hubert. He is accorded a large space in the local annals, as disclosed by the Chartulary of St. John's Abbey, always holding a prominent position, witnessing many documents, signing next after the knights, and almost invariably taking precedence of the bailiffs and other townsmen. The list of bailiffs of Colchester between 1189, the date of the earliest existing charter, and 1242 is very incomplete, though practically continuous from that date.

Seeing that among the earlier bailiffs we find Guy Basset, otherwise Guy the Marshal, a connection of the Lady Hawise, Simon l'Eskirmisur, or the Military Instructor, and several stewards, we may well assume that Simon, who bore the higher title of Dapifer, often combined the government of the borough with the oversight of his mistress's property. The names of his wife Gunnora, and of his brothers Richard, Alexander, Walter and Martin frequently occur. A man of means—a munificent donor alike to the Abbey, to the Priory, and to the Canons of St. Osyth—a friend of the Mayor and merchants of the City of London, and on terms of intimacy with the local gentry, it involves no great strain upon the imagination to picture him residing in the Stone Hall as the representative of the great minister of the King, perhaps the confidant of his plans and the guardian of his treasure. In one instance he is recorded to have sat side by side with the Abbot in a *curia*, and the question arises whether or not the Stone House may have represented Thurbern's Curia, recorded in Domesday, with jurisdiction over the small parish of St. Runwald. Be that as it may, Simon disappears from our ken about 1240, and as the Lady de Burgh had been married some years, it may be that she now occasionally resided here. Her death occurred

in 1249, and therefore coincides with the date assigned to the concealment of the hoard. She was buried near her possible collateral ancestor and founder of her estates, Eudo Dapifer, in the Chapter House of the Abbey of St. John the Baptist, to which she and her husband were benefactors. From the concurrence of the date and the probable ownership of the site, it is at least arguable that the coins may have belonged to Hawise de Burgh and her husband, and were concealed, whether by her instructions or by a fraudulent servant, at the time of her death.

So far the evidence is not of the strongest; but when we turn to the consideration of the composition of the hoard, and the possible cause of its collection, we may find some additional corroboration for the theory that it was originally the property of her father-in-law. Hubert de Burgh, born *circa* 1170, was already in the service of the Crown before 1200 A.D., in which year he was sent on an embassy to the King of Portugal, and in the next year, now a royal chamberlain, he led 100 knights to guard the Welsh March. This date is that of the commencement of the Rhuddlan Mint. The other western mints, Shrewsbury and Worcester, are also represented by coins of the early thirteenth century, viz., prior to 1208.

He was apparently abroad from 1204 to 1214, and at least a third of the foreign coins may fall within this period; while his connection as Sheriff with Kent, Surrey, and five other counties would account for coins from many of the sixteen mints closed before 1222. In June, 1215, he was appointed Justiciar, and he is named in the Great Charter granted in that month. His adhesion to John in opposition to the Dauphin Louis, is too well known to need comment, but his special connection with the county of Kent during this period as Sheriff, and afterwards Earl, might account for a large proportion of Canterbury coins in any hoard made by him. As Constable of Dover, Canterbury, Rochester and Arundel his influence in the locality of the south-eastern mints would be great. His glorious victory over the French fleet in 1217 freed England from any fear of foreign invasion, and the death of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1219, gave him the first rank among English subjects. As "the first of our statesmen to

convert the emotion of nationality into a principle of political action," he deserves to be held in grateful remembrance, but though popular with the people from his assertion of the policy of "England for the English," he, as Constable of the Tower, offended the citizens of London by his severe repression of a riot in 1222, and never recovered their favour. His associations with Colchester and Essex were territorial. He had married, as his third wife, Avice of Gloucester, the repudiated wife of King John and widow of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex. Already enriched by two aristocratic alliances, he now seems to have incurred the hostility of the old feudal nobility by his vigorous assertion of the royal authority. He had, in 1216, been appointed Constable of Colchester Castle, the most important stronghold in the county, and now commenced to build a castle for himself at Ongar, within easy distance of London. In 1222 his fortunes were still further advanced by a fourth marriage at York with Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, and sister of Alexander II., King of Scotland. This would doubtless have brought into his possession as part of her dower a large quantity of money bearing the mint names of the northern cities of York, Durham, Carlisle and Lincoln, and would also account for the unusually large proportion of Scottish coins in the hoard, most of which are of a date prior to this alliance. Alexander himself was several times in England, and in 1216 did homage to the Dauphin at Dover. He may possibly have accompanied Louis and the Barons to Colchester Castle on his return journey to Scotland.

Margaret's sister, Isabella, was married some years later to Hubert's ward, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who controlled the mints of Norwich and Ipswich, both well represented in the Colchester hoard, while Hubert's nephew, Thomas de Blumville, sometime Constable of Colchester, was Bishop of Norwich, and had control of the mint in his town of Lynn; another nephew, Geoffrey, was Bishop of Ely, and a John de Blumville was a Colchester landowner. So we see that Hubert's connection with the three eastern counties was as close as that with London and Kent, of which county he was created Earl in 1227. During the ten years following his last marriage he practically governed England. He not only subdued the Welsh, but

in June, 1232, was created Justiciar of Ireland. On the 20th of July of that year he fell from power with dramatic suddenness. He took sanctuary at the great Abbey of Merton, some ten miles from the city, whence a mob of 20,000 Londoners set out to drag him, being only prevented by the King's tardy interposition. His only advocate with the monarch is said to have been his former chaplain, Luke, for whom he had secured the Archbishopric of Dublin. From Merton he proceeded, doubtless by way of St. Albans, where he had many friends, and across the north-west of Essex, to join his wife at Bury St. Edmunds. The Bury coins are mostly those of one moneyer of late date, and may belong to this period. Here he doubtless took counsel with his powerful relatives, and under their advice retired to Terling Manor, a house belonging to the See of Norwich, between Colchester and Chelmsford.

It is no doubt probable that he had before this visited his important charge, Colchester Castle, now committed to Stephen de Segrave; but possibly he may on this occasion have rested at the Stone House with his recently married son. There, within walls which had sheltered the Norman Baron Eudo and his friends, De Veres, Mandevilles and Clares, which had possibly seen Henry Beauclerc and his Saxon consort, and had certainly looked down upon Stephen, upon Henry Plantagenet and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and upon his patron John, the fallen minister, prudently secreting the tiny coins now exposed for all the world to see, may have pondered upon the fate of his great predecessor, Thomas of Canterbury, who had once passed this spot, a simple clerk, and had lived to become the trusted friend and the bitter enemy of the king; to be the champion of a losing cause in life, and the idol of the people in death. History seldom quite repeats itself. Hubert missed alike the fiery trial of Thomas and the after recognition of those whom he had served with more wisdom if with less self devotion. Whatever his hopes or fears were, he passed quickly on—perhaps against the entreaties of his family, for his sons and nephews were householders here—and hastened to Terling. He was again arrested on his way to London, and Matthew Paris tell us of a smith at Brentwood who, to his eternal honour, refused to forge

fetters for a man who had saved England. At last he was lodged in the Tower, but ultimately, after being imprisoned for some time in Devizes Castle, succeeded in recovering his liberty, and took refuge in Wales, where he held Chepstow Castle while Richard Marshall made an expedition to Ireland. In 1234 the King restored his honours. In 1239 he was again persecuted by the King, and again regained his favour. He died at Banstead, on the 12th day of May, 1243, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the house of the Black Friars in London, now Whitehall.

A career so varied and full of interest as that briefly narrated here, may well have allowed of the gathering of the miscellaneous collection of coins by one person, which at the opening of this paper, we suggested as probable, and although certainty is impossible, there are at least grounds for the conjecture that the hoard originally formed part of the wealth of Hubert de Burgh, and either on his death, or on that of his daughter-in-law, was concealed, until some 650 years later it became treasure trove.

A SUMMARY of the Coins found at Colchester in 1902, from Mr. Grueber's Account of the Hoard with some additional notes.

Mints.		Number of Coins.
London	... ..	5,098
Canterbury	... ..	4,122
Bury St. Edmunds	...	457

Two-thirds of the above represent coinages later than 1222.

Winchester	... ..	247
York	... ..	153
Lincoln	... ..	100
Northampton	...	67
Norwich	... ..	55
Exeter	... ..	48
Ipswich	... ..	34
Chichester	... ..	34
Carlisle	... ..	21

Mints.			Number of Coins.
Durham	...	...	21
Oxford	...	...	21
Lynn	...	...	20

All the Mints in this section were closed in or before 1222, but their money would still remain current.

Worcester	...	...	15
Rhuddlan	...	...	15
Rochester	..	...	9
Wilton	8
Shrewsbury	6

These are mainly of earlier date (1189-1216).

Scottish	168
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Of these 155 were of William the Lion, who died in 1214, and the remainder are of Alexander II., his successor.

Ireland	...	...	160, all later than 1210.
Foreign	...	...	23

Nine being of Frederic II. (1218-49), four from Cologne, and three from Dortmund, of the same period.

For the plan of Colchester, taken from the Ordnance survey, and expressly drawn to illustrate this paper, the writer is indebted to the kindness of Major J. E. Bale, whose acquaintance with the topography of mediæval Colchester is so well known.

NOTES ON THE COINAGE OF EDWARD IV., SUGGESTED BY A RECENT FIND OF COINS.

BY L. A. LAWRENCE, F.R.C.S., *Director.*

THROUGH the courtesy of Messrs. Spink in placing a find of coins, chiefly of the time of Edward IV., in my hands, I am enabled to offer to the Society some account of the different varieties struck in the latter half of the fifteenth century. In order that the subject may not require reference to text-books, it may be as well if some general description precede the account of the coins in this find.

From the time of Edward III. until the middle of the reign of Henry VII. the silver coinages of England consisted of five denominations.—Groats, half-groats, pence, halfpence and farthings. All of these had on the obverse the full-faced bust of an ideal King, crowned ; on each side of the head were bushy locks of hair, and the head on the groats and half-groats, is surrounded by a tressure of arches. The bust was on the majority of the smaller coins confined within a circle only, known as “the inner circle” ; without this were a legend and a mint mark. This latter was in nearly every case at the top of the coin, just above the King’s crown. The legend consisted of some letters of the King’s name, and abbreviations of his titles. Without the legend was an outer circle. The reverse design consisted of four groups of three pellets each within the angles of a long cross, pattée at the ends, which extended to the edge of the coin. Enclosing the four groups of pellets was a circle. On the smaller coins, pence, halfpence and farthings, the name of the mint with *villa* or *civitas* formed the

legend, with or without a mint mark, and an outer circle finished the ornamentation of the coin. On the two larger varieties, groats and half-groats, however, the mint name was surrounded by a motto, but separated from it by a circle, and outside that another circle completed the design. The motto was always, **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM**, or some parts or abbreviations of it.

Between the words on both obverse and reverse there were usually placed stops of an ornamental character, such as small crosses, saltires, trefoils. The points of the arches of the tressure usually bore some ornament, and the spandrils outside the arches were occasionally also filled in. In the earlier periods of the issue of these coins the mint mark was usually a cross, and it was not until the reign of Edward IV. that this mark was often superseded. When the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461 practically settled the throne in favour of the Yorkist party in the person of Edward IV., the new King ordered the money to be continued as heretofore. Edward's first issue of silver coins consisted of all five denominations—groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny and farthing. The penny was to weigh 15 grains, the other pieces in proportion. In type they precisely resembled the last issue of the preceding King, Henry VI. The legend was likewise the same except that **HENRIC** was replaced by **EDWARD**. Henry's latest coins bore a *fleur de lys* on the King's breast, a pellet at each side of the crown, and also an extra pellet in two quarters of the reverse.

Edward's coins also bore all these ornaments. Henry's last mint mark was Edward's first. These coins, weighing 15 grains to the penny, were issued from 1461 to 1465, and during that time a second mint mark, a rose, was substituted for the cross; in addition to this, quatrefoils were added, one upon each side of the King's neck, and a little later still these were replaced by annulets. The larger coins had for their obverse legend, **EDWARD DI GRÆ REX ANGL & FRANC**, with but slight variations. On the reverse were the **POSVI** legend quoted above, and **ADIVTUS LONDON** within it. The smaller coins bore the words, **EDWARD REX ANGL** or **ANGLI**. The only stops were little saltires. The reverse legend was, **ADIVTUS LONDON**.

This was the condition of the coinage when the change of

weight was made in 1465, and when the earliest coins of Edward IV. represented in the series of the hoard were struck. In 1465 the first alteration of moment was made in the shape of a reduction of weight. This affected all the denominations of coins, and the silver currency was ordered to be reduced to the rate of 12 grains to the penny instead of 15. The groats and half-groats were precisely like the earlier coins, and were possibly struck from the same dies, so that now only the weight of an individual specimen can distinguish the coinage, namely, 48 grains instead of 60 for the groat, and 24 instead of 30 for the half-groat. These weights are appreciable and constitute a clear distinction. With the smaller coins, however, the weights were never so accurately adjusted, and the distinction therefore cannot usually be drawn by this means. Happily on the reduction of weight, the engraver of the dies altered the legend on these smaller pieces by the addition of the words **DI** or **DEI GRAT** after the King's name. This alteration generally caused some abbreviation of the word **REGNI** into **REGU**, **REG** or **RE**. Thus the presence of **DI GRAT** on a small coin of Edward IV. denotes its light weight and that it pertains to this coinage.

The light coins with heavy characteristics lasted but a short time, and then a further alteration was effected by making the coin slightly smaller in module. The general appearance, too, of the coin was altered so that those accustomed to study the coins of this period can generally at once tell the difference, though it is difficult to describe. With these alterations another custom came into vogue, viz.: a frequent alteration of the mint mark. From the time of the issue of Edward IV.'s light coinage the mint marks may, within certain rough limits, almost be used to date the pieces. The importance, therefore, of obtaining a knowledge of the proper sequence of the mint marks cannot be over-estimated.

The earliest mint mark on the light coins corresponded with that on the latest heavy issue, and was a rose. The resemblance between the heavy and light coins, or rather the latest heavy and the earliest light pieces, is so close that the balance is the only sure method of determining to which issue any individual piece belonged. The

latest heavy coins, besides being marked with a rose, had an annulet on each side of the King's neck. The earliest light coins also had all these peculiarities. The annulets were very soon dropped, and then the coins were altered in small, almost indescribable details, so that the later light coins with the rose mint mark do not bear very much resemblance to the heavy coins with the same mint mark. The next mint mark was a sun. This mark is occasionally found on coins marked with a rose on the other side, and also on pieces of slightly later issue, with the next mark, a crown; again, still later, on those bearing the cross fitchée. This last, indeed, seems always to have been used on the obverse of a coin bearing, for its reverse mint mark, a sun. The coins with these four marks, rose, sun, crown, and cross fitchée, present close resemblances to each other, the closest likeness being, perhaps, shown by those bearing the marks in the order given. The next marks, an annulet, and its variant, an annulet enclosing a pellet, are found on coins which, on the one hand, are very like the cross fitchée-marked examples, and, on the other, resemble certain coins bearing a slightly irregular cross pattée pierced. This type of money was probably that in issue at the time of Henry VI.'s short restoration in 1472, as the coins then issued by him were marked with the same mint mark, and so closely resemble the Edwardian specimens that it is necessary to decipher the King's name before it is possible to decide upon the issuer. With the return of Edward IV. after the battle of Barnet, a cross was again used for the mark, being nearly always pierced, and very commonly having a pellet in one quarter. The particular quarter seems to have been a matter of small choice to the engraver, as all the different features—and there are many exhibited upon this large class—would appear to occur on coins with the pellet in any quarter.

One more mark remains for discussion, viz. : the heraldic cinque-foil. That this was the last mark is probable, because the coins bearing it are more frequently mistaken for the coins of Edward V. than are any other coins of Edward IV. A mistake of this character, where the eye is led astray by the general resemblance in workmanship, is always a sure sign of proximity of issue.

The find above referred to contained upwards of 400 groats of Edward IV.'s light issues. All the mint marks were present in it, and the coins bearing each mark have been shortly described. Unfortunately it is impossible to give a separate description of each coin in the hoard, as many had been dispersed before the bulk was examined for the purposes of this paper.

Of those examined the following is a list of the principal varieties :

CONTENTS OF THE HOARD.

Kind.	Denomination.	Mint Marks, Ornaments and Description.	Number examined.
Henry VI. ...	Groat ...	Early coinage, rosette and mascle. Calais mint	1
" ...	" ...	Light coinage	8
" ...	" ...	" Bristol mint	2
" ...	" ...	" York mint	1
Edward IV. ...	" ...	Rose <i>m.m.</i> on both obverse and reverse ...	67
" ...	" ...	Rose on one side, sun on the other ...	3
" ...	" ...	Sun on both sides	34
" ...	" ...	Sun on one side, crown on the other ...	39
" ...	" ...	Crown on both sides	60
" ...	" ...	Crown on both sides. Bristol mint ...	7
" ...	" ...	Cross fitchée on one side, sun on the other	10
" ...	" ...	Annulet on both sides	26
" ...	" ...	Irregular cross pierced, on both sides ...	6
" ...	" ...	Cross and pellet on both sides	37
" ...	" ...	Heraldic cinquefoil on both sides ..	19
" ...	" ...	Irish of Waterford	1
" ...	Half groat ...	Heraldic cinquefoil on both sides ...	8
" ...	Half angel ...	Heraldic cinquefoil on both sides ...	2
" ...	Quarter noble	Crown on both sides	1
" ...	"	Sun on both sides	1
" ...	"	Sun on obverse, crown on reverse ...	1
Edward V. ...	Groat ...	Sun and rose	1
Richard III. ...	" ...	Sun and rose, and boar's head ...	7
Foreign ...	Double patard	Various	39
Total			381

The legends on the rose-marked coins are **EDWARD DI GRT**
REX ANGL Z FRNCO, rarely **FRNCO**. All of these, examined, had a

quatrefoil upon each side of the neck, and an extra pellet in one quarter of the reverse, in the centre of the three pellets.

The combined marks, obverse rose, reverse sun, occurred on three examples. No extra pellets in the quarters. The stops, when visible, were crosses.

The coins bearing the sun mint mark on both sides also bore the two readings **RRTRQ**, rarely **RRTR**. The quatrefoil at each side of the neck was present, but there was no extra pellet on the reverse in any case. On some, however, there was a little *fleur-de-lys* on the reverse after **TTS** in **QIVITTS**. The stops, where visible, were again small crosses.

Ninety-nine groats bearing the crown mint mark were present; about one-third of these had the previous mint mark, sun, on the reverse, and all had quatrefoils at the sides of the neck, and on the point of the tressure on the breast. The French title in the legend was, with one or two exceptions, **RRTRQ**, the exceptions being **RRTR**. The stops in most cases were crosses, but a few had trefoils, and still fewer had crosses on one side and trefoils on the other. On those bearing the crown mint mark alone, except in one instance, the quatrefoil was present at each side of the neck. In three cases there was a quatrefoil on the point of the tressure on the breast. No ornament was used in this situation in eleven cases. In every instance the legend on the obverse ended in **RRTRQ**. In one case the stops between the wording of the legends were trefoils, in two instances small *fleurs-de-lys*, and in all others either they were crosses or no stops appeared.

The next mint mark to be considered is the cross fitchée; there were only ten coins of this series in the hoard, and the mark was, as usual, always combined on the reverse with the sun. The French title was always **RRTRQ**. Sometimes a trefoil was used on each side of the neck, and on some pieces all the points of the tressure were *fleured*. The stops were chiefly small trefoils, but crosses were also observed on two coins.

The coins with the annulet mark on both sides bore no ornament at the sides of the neck. On some coins the point on the breast was

fleured, on others not. Similarly the points of the tressure over the crown were sometimes *fleured*, and sometimes plain. All those examined had **FRTRQ** for the French title. The stops on these coins became still more varied. The majority bore crosses on one or both sides, some had trefoils on both sides, others crosses on one side and trefoils on the other. Again, some had trefoils on one side only. One coin had annulets as stops after **GRT REX** and **TRGL**. Others had no stops at all.

On the large class of coins bearing the mint mark cross its earliest form was plain, or slightly pierced, and always without a pellet. The coins themselves resembled the annulet coins, and bore the same lettering, which will be presently described. They also bore the most marked resemblance in every way to the light coinage of Henry VI., which was issued either immediately before or immediately after them. The coins, six in all, also agreed with the annulet type in bearing no ornaments, and in the *fleur*ing of the point of the tressure on the breast. The legend read, **FRTRQ**, and the stops were either crosses or trefoils or were absent.

Henry VI.'s light coinage.

a. Obverse.—Mint mark a pierced cross, and legend: **FRTRQ A DI GRT Y REX Y TRGL A ZY FRTRQ**, point on breast, *fleured*, trefoils as stops.

Reverse.—The same mint mark, and no stops in the legend.

b. As (a), but crosses as stops upon both sides.

c. As last, but mint mark cross pattée on both sides, crosses as stops on obverse, none on reverse.

d. As (b), but legend reading **FRTRQV**.

Edward IV. restored.

a. Mint mark annulet enclosing pellet. The points of all arches *fleured*. A rose upon each side of the neck. Legend reads, **DEI** for **DI** and **FRTRQ**. Crosses as stops.

b. Mint mark pierced cross on both sides, somewhat like that on Henry VI.'s light coinage.

K

Original from
PENN STATE

[illegible]

The last groats in the hoard of Edward IV. have the mint mark, heraldic cinquefoil. In each case a rose was used instead of the *fleur* to the point on the breast. The French title was always **RRTRQ**, and as stops crosses in various numbers and situations were present. Besides these marks a rose was noted in every case on the reverse, namely, in five instances after **POSVI**, in eight after **DEVN**, in two after **NDIVTORG**, and in two after **POSVI** and **NDIVTORG**.

Of the five gold coins present in the find, three were quarter-nobles of Edward IV., and may be described as follows :

1. *Obverse*.—Mint mark, crown. *Legend*, **EDWTRD • DI • GRX REX • TRGL**.
Reverse.—Mint mark, crown. *Legend*, **EXPLTTBITVR IN GLOR**.
2. *Obverse*.—Mint mark, sun. *Legend*, **EDWTRD DI • GRX REX • TRGL • Z • RR**.
Reverse.—Mint mark, sun. *Legend*, **EXPLTTBITVR Y IN Y GLORIT Y**.
3. *Obverse*.—Mint mark, sun. *Legend*, **EDWTRD Y DI Y GRX Y REX Y TRGL**.
Reverse.—Mint mark, crown. *Legend*, **EXPLTTBITVR † IN † GLORIT †**

The remaining two were half-angels of the same king, namely :—

- Obverse*.—Mint mark, heraldic cinquefoil. *Legend*, **EDWTRD DI GRX REX TRGL :**
- Reverse*.—Mint mark, heraldic cinquefoil. *Legend*, **Q : DRVX • TVE : SPES • VRICT :** Two specimens.

The single specimen of the Calais mint is a groat of the early coinage of Henry VI. bearing rosette and mascle ornaments. It is a much clipped example. The Irish groat purports to be of the Waterford mint, but it appears to be a contemporary copy of the English coinage of Edward IV. with the sun mint mark, and may be a forgery of the period.

Of the English provincial coins, all were groats of York and Bristol, of the usual types, namely :

York.—One of Henry VI. and two of Edward IV.

Bristol.—Henry VI. light coinage.

1. *Obverse*.—Mint mark, trefoil. *Legend*, **EDWARD • DI • GRA • REX • ANGL**
• Z • RTRR •.

Reverse.—Mint mark, cross. *Legend*, **POSVI**, etc., and crosses as stops,
WILLM • BRISTOW •.

2. *Obverse*.—Mint mark, cross. *Legend*, similar to No. 1, but trefoils as stops.

Reverse.—Mint mark, rose. *Legend*, similar to No. 1, but crosses as stops, **WILLM • BRISTOW •**.

Edward IV. Light coinage of the usual type, with **B** on the breast, and reading **BRISTOW** or **BRISTOLL**. Seven specimens.

The single groat of Edward V.'s coinage is of the usual type of rose and sun mint mark, and the seven examples of Richard III. are precisely similar save in name.

Mr. L. Forrer has kindly supplied the following particulars of the foreign coins in this find :

All these foreign coins belong to the reign of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–1477).—Out of the 39, 27 were purely Flemish of the following type :

1. Flanders. Double patard = 4 Flemish gros = 1 English groat = 4 English pennies = 4 sterling Flemish (Esterlings).

Obverse.—✠ **KAROLVS • DEI • GRA • DVX • BVRG •**
GO • FLA • Shield of arms, quartered: 1 and 4 arms of modern Burgundy (three *fleurs-de-lys*); 2 and 3 old Burgundy and Brabant conjoined; in centre, small shield of arms of Flanders, surcharged.

Reverse.—✠ **SIT • ROMAN • DOMINI BENEDICTVM •** ☪
Cross fleury with lys in centre. Struck at Ghent. *Revue Numismatique*, 1862, Pl. iv, No. 60. 27 coins.

2. Double patard. Similar, with obverse legend ending **FL**. 2 coins.
3. Limburg. Double patard. Similar, with obverse legend: ✠ **KAROLVS • DEI • GRA • DVX • BG • BRAB • Z • LIM •** De Witte, *Histoire monétaire des Contes de Louvain, Ducs de Brabant et Marquis du Saint Empire romain*, Anvers, 1896, Pl. xxvii, No. 503. Struck at Louvain, between 11 April, 1468, and 31 March, 1474; total struck, 3,232,597 pieces. 4 coins.

4. Brabant. Double patard. Three varieties of legend:—

DVX • BVRG • BRAB •
DVX • BVRG • GO • BRAB •
DVX • BVRG • ET (?) • BRAB •

Struck at Antwerp(?). 6 coins.

All these coins were struck between 1469 (International Monetary Conference at Bruges) and 27 October, 1474, when the value of the Double Patard was increased to $4\frac{1}{2}$ gros, on account of the draining of good money from the Low countries.

A word may here be said about the lettering on the silver coins of Edward IV., and the remarks must be taken as applying to the groats, because these were the largest silver coins, and more care was expended on their accurate manufacture. On the earlier coins there were no marked abnormalities of form. The π was unbarred, \mathfrak{R} and \mathbf{R} were clearly formed letters, and \mathbf{P} was an ordinary letter. Gradually this last letter developed a long foot-piece to the right. Then the outward curl of the foot of the \mathfrak{R} and \mathbf{R} was turned towards rather than from the first stroke of the letter, so that the \mathfrak{R} virtually became a \mathbf{D} and the \mathbf{R} a \mathbf{B} . These variations are chiefly to be noted on the annulet-marked coins and on those of Henry VI. (restored). After Henry's death they were again represented by normal letters, but a change was made in the π in certain words, viz.: $\pi\mathbf{R}\mathbf{G}\mathbf{L}$ and $\mathbf{CIVIT}\pi\mathbf{S}$. These two π s were almost invariably barred by two little strokes meeting in the middle. Why the engraver should have chosen these two π s out of the six to be found in the legend, is not now known, but an examination of any large collection of these groats will show with what consistency these letters were selected for barring. While on this point it may be remarked that in the time of Edward III. the same barred π occurs on the early gold coinages, and is looked upon as one of the distinguishing marks by which to separate the issues before 1351 from the later coins.

It is usual in describing a find to attempt to fix a date for its deposit. The latest English coins in this find were the groats of Richard III. There were none of Henry VII. All the issues of Edward IV.'s light coins were present, and also one groat of Edward V., so that the sequence is perfect, and the coins must have found their hiding-place in the year 1485. Of course the obvious suggestion is that the battle of Bosworth or its consequences in some way caused the loss. The later coins were in much finer preservation than the earlier. Of the early pieces the heavy groat of

Henry VI. was the first, and between it and the Edwardian coins there was a very long gap. There were no heavy coins of Edward IV., so that, probably, this early groat of Henry VI. was accidentally in the find.

The gold coins consisted of quarter-nobles and half-angels, and did not present anything really new to record. In relation to the subject of these gold coins, it may be as well to point out how accurately the gold corresponds with the silver in the matter of mint marks. In the same way that Edward IV. started his earliest silver coins with a cross such as was on the late coins of Henry VI., so the heavy gold nobles bore a *lys*, as did the latest nobles of Henry VI. Of this heavy gold coinage only two specimens exist, both in the collection of Sir John Evans. They weigh 108 grains, or thereabouts, and are considered heavy coins, as they were current for 6s. 8d. The light coinage which followed these, consisted of rose nobles, with their halves and quarters, and they bore the rose, sun, crown or cross fitchée mint marks. The nobles weighed 120 grains, and were light coins, as their value was 10s. Later a further change was made in the striking of angels and half-angels. These bore the annulet, cross pierced, or heraldic cinquefoil marks. These angels are rather important factors in the placing of the annulet mint mark before Henry VI.'s restoration, as during that short period angels bearing Henry's name were issued. It is far from likely that during the few months in 1471, during which Henry occupied the throne, he would have had time or desire to alter the coinage or invent a new type. It is probable, therefore, that he exactly copied the coins then in issue, and simply altered the name.

Perhaps these remarks will be less incomplete if a few words are added about the provincial mints. These were York, Bristol, Norwich, Coventry, Durham and Canterbury. At all but the last two, groats were issued. Those of Norwich and Coventry were not continued so long as the York and Bristol pieces, but ceased shortly before Henry VI.'s return to power.

The denominations issued at York were nobles, and their halves, groats, half-groats, pence, and halfpence in Edward's reign; and groats,

half-groats and pence during Henry's restoration. At Bristol the same coins were issued with Edward's name upon them, but no light pence or halfpence are known bearing Henry's name. Angels of both Kings are known. Coinage of nobles and half-nobles in gold, and groats and half-groats in silver, only took place at Coventry and Norwich. Both these mints ceased work some time before 1471.

Canterbury was responsible for the majority of the half-groats bearing Edward's name ; and also for pence and halfpence, which are very rare. None are known bearing Henry's name.

The coinage of Durham seems to have chiefly consisted of pence. They were struck by the Bishops as Princes Palatine, and only bear Edward's name. A halfpenny or so with **D** in the centre of the reverse and some letters of the mint name **DERK** was also issued from this mint.

As to the place and date of the discovery of this hoard, no particulars are forthcoming.

Hoard of the coins of Edward IV.'s time are fairly frequent, and, as Mr. Andrew explained in *A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry Ist.*, they are probably due to the unsettled state of the country owing to the Wars of the Roses. Most of the hoards described were evidently buried quite late in Edward IV.'s reign and contain coins bearing all his mint marks, as did this hoard. So far as was ascertained there were no pennies or smaller pieces found with the coins here described, and curiously enough this seems to be another feature common to the finds of the period. To meet with pence and groats in this same hoard is quite unusual. It is, perhaps, difficult to account for this fact, except by supposing that the condition of the groat owner varied from that of the penny owner much more then than now, though both of them buried their treasure. One is, however, at a loss to understand why the penny owner did not convert his pence into something larger and safer against casual disappearance before burial.

Something of the commerce of the country is also reflected in the contents of these hoards. Nearly all of them have contained foreign coins of the Low Countries and those of Charles the Bold

almost always appear. There is, however, nothing very surprising in this, when it is remembered that, at any rate during part of Edward's reign, there was great political and commercial intimacy between England and Burgundy.

A REMARKABLE GROAT OF HENRY VII.

BY BERNARD ROTH, F.R.C.S.



AT the Montagu sale of May, 1896, I acquired the following groat of Henry VII., which is illustrated as fig. 15 on the plate of Miscellaneous Exhibits, p. 378. It is described in the sale catalogue as:—

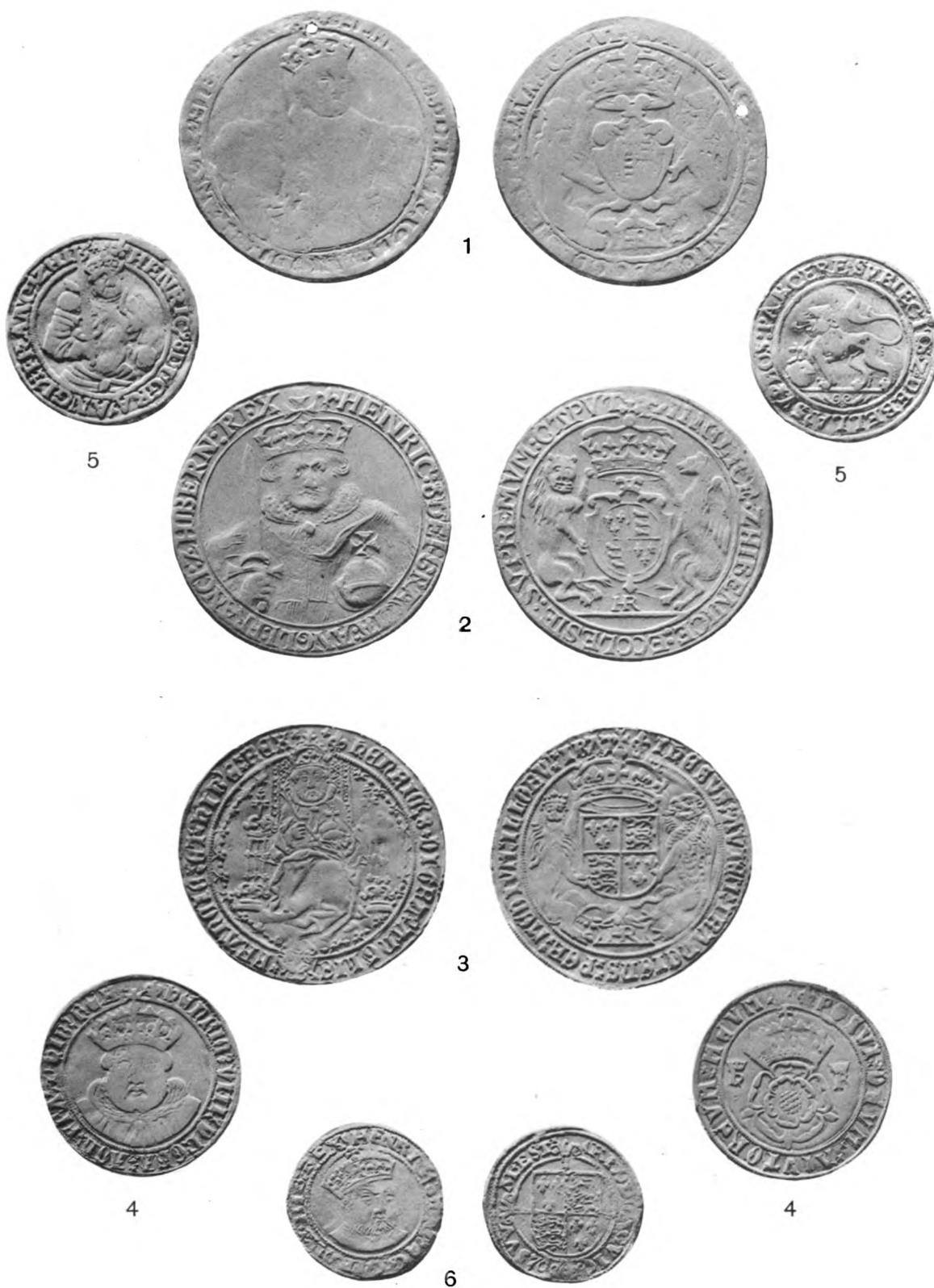
Lot 684 ; second coinage, with arched crown. Groat of London, differing from any published type, m. m. *obv.* escallop, *rev.* heraldic cinquefoil ; the hair of the bust is brushed straight away from the face, the arches are not fleured, open **Es** in legend and rosette after each word ; *rev.* trefoils after words except **POSVI**, two after **DIVITIS** and **LONDON**, well preserved, unique (?) and unpublished [Pl. V¹.]

. From the Webb Collection (Lot 224).

The complete legend on the *obverse* is, mint mark escallop, **RER**
RIC' • DI' • GRAT' • REX • ANGLI • Z •] RRR' and on the *reverse*,
POSVI DEVM • DIVITORE • MEVM • • DIVITIS • • LONDON •
The open **Es** are only on the *obverse* ; those on the *reverse* being closed ; again the **πs** on the *obverse* are open, and both the **πs** on the *reverse* are closed. In the crown there are two complete *fleurs-de-lys* with a cross fourchée between, differing altogether from the crowns, either of the first coinage or of the usual second coinage, where there is only one complete, and central, *lys*. The coin is well executed and ought to be called fine rather than well preserved : it weighs 45·6 grains troy.

¹ This reference is to the Montagu Catalogue.

Although I have now possessed this coin for nearly eight years, I can offer no explanation of its peculiarities, for I know no more concerning it than when it came into my possession, and I should be glad if any reader could give me some information about it.



PATTERNS AND COINS OF HENRY VIII.

THE HENRY VIII. MEDAL OR PATTERN CROWN.

BY JOHN E. T. LOVEDAY.



HIS curious silver piece realized £128 at the Murdoch Sale, March 31st to April 4th, 1903, and is thus described in the catalogue, p. 67 :—

(Lot) 454. Pattern Crown, m. m. lis on both sides, *obverse* : **HENRIC : 8. DEI • GRACIA : ANGLI : FRANCI : Z • HIBERN : RE***, half-length figure of the King crowned facing, holding sword and orb ; *rev.* **ANGLICE¹ : Z • HIBERNICE : ECCLESIE : SVPREMVM : CAPVT**, the royal arms with lion and dragon supporters, crown above, **H.R.** (*in mon.*) beneath ; *wt.* 415 *grs.* (Snelling, Patts. pl. 5. 2.), *exceedingly fine and of supreme rarity.*

* * This extraordinary pattern (whether coin or medal being a disputed point) is one of the rarest in the English series and the finest of the only two specimens which are known, the other being purchased at the Cuff sale (£140) for the British Museum. This is from the Thomas (Lot 271, £130), Wigan (£165), Brice, Montagu (1888, Lot 186, £106), and Moon (Lot 104, £107) collections.

The history of another, the Bodleian specimen, see plate, fig. 1, and illustration on the next page, is as follows :—I found in *Numismata Bodleian*, Oxon. Fol. M.D.C.C.L., by Francis Wise, the following passage, p. 239 :—

Henrico etiam in animo erat novam monetæ argenteæ speciem percutere, ponderis scilicet uncialis, quam hodie Coronam, a Crown, vocamus. Cujus unicum superest exemplar. . . .

¹ *Sic* in Catalogue, but unlike the others the **A** in **ANGLICE** has no lower cross bar and should be **Λ**.

Singularis iste nummus hodie extat in Nummorum Anglicorum Thesauro à Cl. Browne Willis Arm: collecto; quem etiam, pro incomparabili sua munificentia, in publicum commodum Bibliotheca Bodleiana se vivente depositum esse voluit Vir patriæ et Academiæ amantissimus.

Anglicized.

It was the intention of Henry to strike a new form of silver money, of an ounce weight, which we call a Crown. An unique example of this coin exists—(Here follows a description of the coin)—This singular coin is to-day in the collection of English coins formed by C. Browne Willis, Esq., which indeed this man, so deeply attached to his country and his University, was, of his incomparable munificence, willing should be deposited even during his lifetime in the Bodleian for the convenience of the public.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE BODLEIAN SPECIMEN.

On Table XX. p. 289 of the same work is a plate of the Crown with the description "HEN. VIII., Corona argentea." On casually coming across this passage I asked permission of the Bodleian authorities to inspect their collection of English coins, and Mr. Nicholson, the Chief Librarian, courteously gave me much of his valuable time and assistance whilst so doing. The coin in question is docketed with a query (?) It is a much worn specimen with a small hole drilled through it.

Martin Folkes, in his *Table of English Silver Coins*, Lond. 1745, published for the Society of Antiquaries, at p. 26 says :—

I apprehend a very curious piece, in the collection of my worthy friend Browne Willis, Esq. to have been a proof for a quadruple teston,

or a four shilling piece of this money : whose full weight should have been an ounce, and to which it sufficiently approaches.

This piece has been published by the Society of Antiquaries in one of their plates. It bears on one side the king's figure crowned, full-faced, and half-bodied, with his sword in one hand and the orb in the other.

HENRIC' • 8. DEI. GRACIA. ANGL' • FRANCI' • Z • HIBERN' • RE, and on the reverse the royal shield crowned and supported by a lion and a dragon, **ANGLICE • Z • HIBERNICE. ECCLESIE • SVPREMVM • CAPVT •** mark a *fleur de lis*: it now weighs only 464 grains, but has lost considerably by wear, and a small hole bored through it that has taken away some of the silver.¹

For an account of Martin Folkes, 1690–1754, antiquary and man of letters, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xix, p. 361.

The sale of his collections in 1756 lasted fifty-six days. The reference to the Plate is "*Book of Plates*, folio, Table VI, i," no date or title. In *A Series of English Medals*, by Francis Perry, Lond. 1762, Plate I., 5, this coin again appears, and in a note, p. 3, we are told, "This was presented to the University of Oxford by Browne Willis, LL.D., F.S.A."

The above notes sufficiently established the identity of the coin in the Bodleian. There is, however, yet another specimen, viz. : that described in the *Numismata Pembroccana*, unless this is the Murdoch specimen. In *Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins* printed for R. Withy and J. Ryall, 1756, there is an illustration of a coin of the same description on Plate 12, No. 31, and a note, p. [a.a.] as follows :—

No. 31 is a very curious and scarce coin, called by some a Crown of this King, the weight nearly approaches four Testons (viz. : 480 grains); there is one in the Bodleian Collection, but much worn, that of Lord Pembroke's, and one other that we have seen, is much better preserved.

It is unfortunate that no note is given as to the whereabouts of the figured example.

¹ This paragraph is printed as a footnote to the preceding.

Again, in the *Numismata Pembroccana*, 1746, referred to above, there is an engraving of the Earl of Pembroke's specimen. This is one of those books (happily rare) with its pages unnumbered, but at the end you are politely told,

To the Gentlemen who have Lord Pembroke's Book. N.B. Number your encreasing leaves with a Pencil or Ink, from 1 to 308 inclusive; then you will readily find the printed parts, and Tables answer to it.

I have numbered the Williamscothe copy with much toil, and make the reference p. 290, where it is called "A large silver piece of Henry 8."

In the *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1885, vol. i., pp. 46-47, will be found what is probably the latest information on the pieces under consideration; I quote from it :--

(No.) 42. HEAD OF THE CHURCH, *circa* 1545.

Half-length figure of Henry VIII., three-quarters, *r.*, Crowned and robed, holding sword and orb. Leg. **HENRIC.** 8 • **DEI • GRACIA • ANGLIE • FRANCI • Z • HIBERN : RE.** m. m. *fleur de lis.*

Rev. Arms of France and England, quarterly crowned; supporters a lion and a dragon; on a tablet below, **H.R.** monogram. Leg. **ANGLICE • Z • HIBERNICE : ECCLESIE : SVPREMVM : CAPVT** (The supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland) m. m. *fleur de lis.*

I. 75. Med. Hist. iv. 4. Perry, I. 5. Pemb. Cat. P. 4. T. 23. Ruding, Pl. viii. 1. Wise. Bodl. Cat. T. xx.

Bodley **R** (much worn). Unique?

If the Pembroke collection even contained a specimen, it had been removed many years before the sale.

This piece has been called sometimes a coin, sometimes a medal; it may have been a pattern for a crown, but its worn state is owing to having been suspended as a medal as shown by a hole. At the commencement of this reign the supporters of the royal arms were a Dragon and a Greyhound; afterwards the Lion became the dexter supporter, and the Dragon was removed to the sinister, as upon this piece. The title King of Ireland renders it probable that it was struck

after 23rd Jan., 1542, when the title was proclaimed. Chasings by Stuart of the last century are common, and of no value.

(No.) 43. HEAD OF THE CHURCH, 1545.

Half-length figure of Henry VIII., nearly full face, crowned, holding sword and orb; very plain robes fastened with brooch. Leg. **HENRIC' • 8 • DEI : GRACIA : ANGLI : FRANCI : Z • HIBERN : RE✱**. m. m. *fleur de lis*.

Rev. Arms of France and England quarterly, etc.: similar to the last, but **H.R.** not on tablet, and Leg. reading **HIBENICE** instead of **HIBERNICE**.

175. **MB. R.** (Cuff). Edw. Wigan. **R.** St. Petersburg **R.** rare.

The execution of this singular piece is very rude, and the details are represented in an unsatisfactory manner; for instance, the King's robes, the sword, which has a small guard, and the heraldic ornaments are all somewhat of a foreign character. The three specimens above noticed are from the same die, and are the only ones known: the first weighs 459½ grains, the second 415 grains. It is presumed to be a pattern for a crown, but the unsatisfactory nature of the workmanship renders it probable that it is a copy, made in the present century on the Continent, from an inaccurate engraving of the last described specimen.

These descriptions are at least more accurate than those which preceded them, but they still leave out of account, amongst other features, the stops between the words, which are all represented by pellets. On No. 43, which is photographed in the Moon Catalogue, the stops really are pellets, but on the specimen in the Bodleian a reference to the accompanying photograph, and to fig. 1 of the plate, and also to the plate in Ruding will show most of them to be little trefoils. There are two after **GRACIA**, **ANGLIE** and **HIBERN** and one after **Z** and **RE✱** on the *obverse*, also two after **ECCLESIE** and **SVPREVM** and one after **ANGLICE** on the *reverse*.

On the engraving in the Pembroke Catalogue before noted, the same stops are represented in exactly the same places, with the single exception of the omission of a stop after **RE✱**. The example engraved in the Pembroke Plate, after allowing for the different styles of the engravers, accurately agrees with that in Ruding, except that

there is a noticeable difference in the absence of ornamentation of the arches of the crowns on both sides in the former.

The date of the Pembroke catalogue is 1746, and in the previous year Martin Folkes refers to the Bodleian coin as being in the possession of his friend Browne Willis. In 1750 Willis had given his specimen to Oxford. There is of course just the possibility of the two pieces being one and the same, but the probability is small indeed in view of the slight difference in the engravings already mentioned. Moreover, the Earl's collection would scarcely have been allowed to suffer such a loss so soon after the publication of so important a work as his catalogue. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be that another original piece may still be discovered, and Withy and Ryall's remarks also point in that direction.

Having discussed all the references to this numismatic puzzle that I can find, perhaps some remarks about the specimens now known to exist may be expected. The Bodleian piece, fig. 1, with its peculiar stops, its three-quarter bust, and its general style of workmanship throughout agrees in every way with the well-known and common coins of Henry VIII., issued after 1542. Anyone familiar with these pieces will at once feel satisfied as to the authenticity of this example. With regard to the others, the Museum coin, and a like piece now in the cabinet of our member, Mr. R. A. Hoblyn, illustrated on the accompanying plate, as fig. 2, the case is very different. The engraving is bad, the design is weak, the weight is much less, and the whole piece presents that indescribable something which suggests a feeling of insecurity about it. The lettering, for instance, lacks the boldness and the carelessness of the time, it is too regular and laboured. A sight of the piece quite confirms the depreciatory remarks made on it in the medallic illustrations.

The example in Withy and Ryall agrees in some particulars with this latter piece, notably in the omission of the **R** in the reading **HIBENICI**, and in the presence of the old Gothic **Æ** on both sides, another point not mentioned or described in the medallic illustrations.

This may be the engraving which was copied on the Continent as suggested in the quotations already given, but why the Continent is

suggested rather than nearer home it is difficult to understand, more particularly with reference to this, a British subject.

It only now remains to inquire into the original purpose of the piece—is it a medal or a coin? The arguments in the *Medallic Illustrations* are weak, for the only factors offered in favour of its medallic origin are the hole and the worn appearance of the Bodleian specimen. It is not easy to feel satisfied with an explanation of this kind, as every old worn groat or penny with a hole in it, could equally well be called a medal on the same grounds. The event supposed to be commemorated was the assumption by Henry of the title of supreme head of the Church. This, however, took place in 1535, and it was not until 1542 that Ireland became a Kingdom. Clearly, therefore, the “Head of the Church” could not have been the event in honour of which the “Medal” was struck seven years after the assumption of the title. The only reason that has ever been suggested for the medallic character of the piece was the reverse legend, but as this is only a continuation of the King’s titles from the obverse, the case here also as surely fails as its does when the above dates are considered.

The coin-theory, however, can be upheld by a number of facts. A comparison with the coins of the period shows the same workmanship and style. The arms and supporters and the whole reverse design occur on the sovereigns, fig. 3, and half-sovereigns of the later issues. The continuation of the obverse legend of titles on the reverse is also shown on some late quarter angels. In this connexion Wise’s passage relative to Henry’s intention to strike a silver piece of an ounce weight should be remembered, as it is most significant.

The conclusions arrived at in this paper therefore are :—

1. The piece is a coin, the ounce-weight crown of Henry VIII.
2. The only known genuine example is the Bodleian specimen.
3. Lord Pembroke’s piece was probably genuine.
4. The coin illustrated by Withy and Ryall may have been genuine.
5. The other known specimens, viz. : that in the British Museum, the St. Petersburg coin, the late Murdoch specimen and Mr. Hoblyn’s example are forgeries.

L

With these conclusions as regards the crown piece before us, some reference to another example of numismatic art may not be amiss. The piece in question is described in the *Medallic Illustrations* before quoted, Vol. I, pp. 44-45 :—

Half length figures of Henry VIII., nearly full face, in armour, crowned, holding sword and orb. Leg. **HENRIC • 8 DI GRA' ANGL : FRANC • Z HIB'**, mint mark cinquefoil.

Reverse.—The British lion, l., grasping the orb. ; below arabesque. Leg. **PARCERE • SVBIECTIS • Z • DEBELLA' SVP'BOS** (To spare the conquered and subdue the proud. Virg. *Æn.*, VI, 854), stops annulets.

I, 2. Pemb. Cat., P. 4, T. 33. Med. Hist., IV, 3. Perry, I, 1.

MB. R. From the Pembroke Collection. Unique?

As this medal is without date, its object cannot be ascertained. From the inscription it would seem that the word king has to be understood, a title which, as regards Ireland, was not formally conferred by Parliament before 1541, and was not proclaimed till 23rd January, 1542 ; and the portrait on this medal indicates that Henry would then be about fifty years of age.

There are modern copies of it, cast and chased and of greater thickness.

The piece is illustrated in the new *Atlas* now being issued, and another example is illustrated as fig. 5 on the plate accompanying this paper. The weight of this piece is 73 grains, and it is kindly lent by Mr. Ready for reproduction. Its stops are varied from the above description.

Like the crown the piece has the appearance of a coin. It is of the same workmanship as the coins as will be seen by a comparison with the testoon, fig. 4, and the groat, fig. 6, on the same plate. It was evidently issued not earlier than 1542, because up to the time when Ireland was declared a kingdom the word *Dominus*, or some part thereof, always appeared after the name of France. In later times the names of France and Ireland are always joined by the conjunction *and* or its Latin form *et*, or *Z*.

The weight, 73 grains, of the example under discussion prevents any definite conclusion being formed, and so unfortunately does the

reverse legend ; but it is quite possible that a coin of 60 grains intended for a sixpence or half testoon might have been contemplated, and this piece may have been a pattern for it. It must be remembered that a sixpence was in use in Ireland during this reign. Equally it might have been intended as a pattern for an Irish shilling, in which case the weight would have been nearly correct. The absence of any title, though, as before suggested, **RE*** was clearly intended after **HIB**, was quite sufficient to prevent its issue, and doubtless, if it had taken place, the legend on the reverse would not have been palatable over the water.

That such a supposition is not quite devoid of reasonable grounds may be shown by a little treatise published in 1886, by Deightin, Bell and Co., Cambridge, entitled—

Nicholas Tyery's proposals to Henry the Eighth for an Irish coinage ; inserted in a MS. French handbook of the year 1526.

Tyery gives designs for a gold and silver coinage. The lion figures in many of the drawings, and the king is enthroned in others. Curiously enough, the title of King of Ireland appears in all of them. The letters are Roman as on the example here given. Probably the petition was really of about the time of the assumption of the regal title, 1542, but was bound with other matters of a little earlier date.

FINDS OF CLIPPINGS OF SILVER COINS.

BY BERNARD ROTH, F.R.C.S.

THE MARCHAM FIND.



GEORGE BORROW, in *The Rommany Rye*, chapter xli., tells us :—

“I told you that my grandfather was a shorter,” said the jockey, “by which is meant a gentleman who shortens or reduces the current coin of the realm, for which practice he was scragg’d, that is, hung by the scrag of the neck. My grandfather reduced or shortened the coin of this country by three processes. By aqua fortis, by clipping and by filing. Filing and clipping he employed in reducing all kinds of coin, whether gold or silver . . . From a five shilling piece . . . he would file or clip to the value of five pence, and from lesser coin in proportion . . . Reducing the coin, though rather a lucrative, was a very dangerous trade. Coin filed felt rough to the touch ; coin clipped could be easily detected by the eye.”

While spending the summer vacation of 1903 in the neighbourhood of Abingdon, Berkshire, I made the acquaintance of Mr. John West, an old inhabitant of that town, and a member of this Society, who has collected coins found in the locality since he was a boy. He has a very interesting collection of coins and tokens, upwards of 2,000 in number, and ranging from the gold staters of Cunobeline and Tasciovanus to the money of the Georges, which he was kind enough to show me. Included in his series is the very remarkable “find” of silver coin-clippings, the first subject of this paper.

In September, 1900, some men who were levelling the ground of a hayrick yard at Marcham, a small village about a mile and a half to the west of Abingdon, found a number of small elongated and boat-shaped pieces of silver, about the size of oats before removal of the

scales. Rather less than one-half of this silver was taken by some of them to a local jeweller, who only offered to purchase it at the metal value. As, however, a few letters could be distinguished on most of the silver bits, he advised the men to show the hoard to Mr. West, who recognised the pieces as coin-clippings and eventually bought that lot, which weighed 2 pounds, 7 ounces, 12 pennyweights troy. The other men took the remainder of the clippings, weighing 3 pounds, 1 ounce troy, to another jeweller, who paid them at the rate of one shilling and ninepence per ounce, and had the whole melted down. Mr. West's impression was that, as the clippings were found on land adjoining the house in which he lived for many years at Marcham, they had probably belonged to John Elwes, the miser, who would have much money passing through his hands.

This theory, however, is not consistent with the fact that I have been able to decipher clippings of coins extending from the reign of Edward VI. to the early years of Charles II., say about A.D. 1662, whereas Elwes was not born till 1714, dying in 1789. Mr. John West could not give me any further information about the find, so I inquired locally at Marcham. There I heard that the clippings were found in the rickyard whilst levelling a slightly raised portion of the ground where one of the staddles of a hayrick used to stand. They were contained in a small, decayed wooden box, which crumbled to pieces as soon as it was touched by the pickaxe. My informant in the village has the theory that the box containing the clippings was originally thrown down a large vaulted refuse-pit of an old house near by, when the place was possibly being searched by officers of justice; that the contents of the pit were emptied on to the surface of the hayrick yard many years afterwards, and remained there undisturbed until the time of the find.

Whoever was the original owner of the clippings had no doubt good cause to hide them, because the law was very severe in those days. Thus, "Clipping, washing and filing the proper coin of this realm . . . for lucre or gain" is made treason by 5th Elizabeth, chapter 2. And again, according to 6th and 7th William III., chapter 19, "Clippings or filings of the coin, bought or sold or



1. EDWARD VI.
Shilling.
Obv. m. m. **V. ED.**
Rev. **POSV.**



2. ELIZABETH.
Shilling.
Obv. m. m. **EL.**
Rev. **MEV.**



3. ELIZABETH.
Shilling.
Obv. m. m. escalloped **ELI.**
Rev. **I . . DE.**



4. ELIZABETH.
Sixpence.
Rev. m. m. pheon **PO.**
Obv. **ET' HI.**



5. JAMES I.
Halfcrown.
Rev. m. m. coronet.
Obv. **AD' B.**



6. JAMES I.
Shilling.
Rev. **ICI** m. m. lys **E.**
Obv. **ACOB.**



7. JAMES I.
Shilling.
Rev. **ET** • m. m. mullet **Q.**
Obv. **HI' FR.**



8. JAMES I.
Shilling.
Rev. **T** m. m. trefoil **QVÆ.**
Obv. **RE*** m. m. trefoil.



9. JAMES I.
Sixpence.
Rev. m. m. thistle **E*V.**
Obv. **IACOBV.**



10. CHARLES I.
Halfcrown.
Obv. * m. m. thistle **CA.**
(Scotch 30/- piece) *Rev.* **IVN*.**



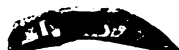
11. CHARLES I.
Shilling.
Obv. * m. m. **ΔCA.**
Rev. **PICE.**



12. CHARLES I.
Sixpence.
Obv. m. m. star **C.**
Rev. **O** m. m. star.



13. CHARLES I.
Sixpence.
Rev. m. m. **(R).**
Obv. **RE*** m. m. **(R).**



14. COMMONWEALTH.
Shilling.
Rev. 1653.
Obv. **LAND** m. m. sun **TH.**



15. CHARLES II.
Halfcrown (hammered).
Obv. **VS • II • D.**
Rev. **O • AV.**

SPECIMENS OF CLIPPINGS, MARCHAM FIND.

knowingly found in the custody of any person other than the officers of the mint, is forfeited, with a fine of £500, half to the King, and half to the informer, and the offender shall be branded on the cheek with the letter R."

This theory of the original loss may possibly be correct, although it is difficult to understand how these silver clippings could have remained, for many years, almost as bright and as fresh as when they were first clipped, amongst the refuse of the pit. Is it possible, however, that the nascent ammonia of the decomposition may have exerted a preservative action? The wooden box, no doubt, would have kept the bits of silver clean from the soil, and yet would have allowed the ammonia gas to penetrate to them.


The first illustration to this paper represents fifteen selections from the clippings, reproduced in practically the same condition as they were when brought to Mr. West. It will be observed that the cut edges of many of the pieces are as distinct and as untarnished as if the clippers had been used only a few weeks ago; the ends of many of the bits are as sharp as needles, and consequently they require cautious handling. I have carefully examined one pound weight troy of them: it consists of 1,690 separate clippings, giving an average individual weight of 3·4 grains troy. I have been able to classify 648 of these, viz., more than a third of the whole number in the pound weight examined, and 99 bear definite mint marks. I will now describe these 648 classified clippings:—

EDWARD VI., 1547–1553. I have found three clippings of coins of Edward VI., one of which has the Southwark mint mark **Y**, of the years 1551–53, on the *obverse*, and is part of a shilling, see illustration, fig. 1; the other two are portions of sixpences.


PHILIP and MARY, 1554–1558. One clipping only can be attributed to Philip and Mary; it has on the *obverse* **LIP • E**, and on the *reverse* **VS**, and is part of a shilling.

ELIZABETH, 1558–1603. To Queen Elizabeth I attribute 144 clippings, of which 74 are apparently shillings, and 70 are sixpences or groats. The 22 clippings with mint marks are equally divided between the shillings and sixpences or groats.

SHILLINGS—Eleven with mint marks :—

Mint mark	Coronet	=	1567-70.
"	Acorn	=	1573-74. (2)
"	Bell	=	1582-84.
"		=	1582-84. (3) Fig. 2.
"	Escallop	=	1584-87. Fig. 3.
"	Ton	=	1592-95.
"	Key	=	1595-98.
"	1	=	1601-02.

SIXPENCES or GROATS—Eleven with mint marks :—

Mint mark	Cross-crosslet	=	1558-61. (2)
"	Lys	=	1558-61.
"	Pheon	=	1561-65. Fig. 4.
"	Rose	=	1565. (2)
"	Castle	=	1569-71.
"		=	1582-84. (2)
"	Ton	=	1592-95.
"	2	=	1602.

JAMES I., 1603-1625. 108 clippings can be attributed to James I., of which 17 are half-crowns, 52 shillings and 39 sixpences.

HALF-CROWN—One with mint mark Coronet = 1607-8. Fig. 5.

SHILLINGS—Eight with mint marks :—

Mint mark	Thistle	=	1603-4.
"	Lys	=	1604-5.
"	Lys	=	1604-5 or 1623-24. Fig. 6.
"	Rose	=	1605-6 or 1620-21. (3)
"	Mullet	=	1611. Fig. 7.
"	Trefoil	=	1613 or 1614. Fig. 8.

SIXPENCES—Five with mint marks :—

Mint mark	Thistle	=	1603-4. Fig. 9.
"	Lys	=	1604-5 or 1623-24. (2)
"	Key	=	1609.
"	Ton	=	1615.

CHARLES I., 1625-1649. The coins of Charles I. form by far the largest proportion of the pound weight of the find which I examined, viz. : 390 clippings classified as 136 half-crowns, 134 shillings and 120 sixpences.

HALF-CROWNS—Eighteen with mint marks :—

Mint mark Thistle (Scotch 30/- piece). Fig. 10.

- „ Anchor = 1628 or 1638. (3)
- „ Plume = 1630.
- „ Crown = 1635 (Aberystwith mint, 1637-42).
- „ Triangle = 1639. (3)
- „ Star = 1640.
- „ Triangle in circle = 1641. (2)
- „ (P) = 1643.
- „ (P) or (R) = 1643 or 1644.
- „ Sun = 1645. (4)

SHILLINGS—Eighteen with mint marks :—

Mint mark Rose = 1631. (2)

- „ Crown = 1635 or 1637-42 (Aberystwith mint). (2)
- „ Ton = 1636-38.
- „ Cross = 1637-42 (Aberystwith).
- „ Anchor = 1638.
- „ Triangle = 1639. (2) Fig. 11.
- „ Star = 1640.
- „ Triangle in circle = 1641. (3)
- „ Plume = 1642 (Shrewsbury) or 1642-46 (Oxford) or 1643-46 (Bristol).
- „ (R) = 1644.
- „ Eye = 1645.
- „ Sun = 1645. (2)

SIXPENCES—Twenty-five with mint marks :—

Mint mark Harp = 1632. (2)

- „ Portcullis = 1633.
- „ Ton = 1636-38.
- „ Triangle = 1639. (6)
- „ Star = 1640. (3) Fig. 12.
- „ Triangle in circle = 1641. (3)
- „ (P) or (R) = 1643 or 1644.
- „ (R) = 1644. (2) Fig. 13.
- „ Sun = 1645. (3)
- „ Eye = 1645. (2)
- „ Sceptre = 1646.

COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660. The only clipping of the Commonwealth in the portion of the find examined, is that of a *shilling* which has on the *obverse*, m. m. sun, and **LAND TH**, and on the *reverse* the date 1653. Fig. 14.

CHARLES II. Hammered coinage, 1660–1662. As the hoard did not contain any clippings of milled money, and as the pound weight of the clippings examined, only yielded one piece which I could with any certainty assign to the Commonwealth, it had not occurred to me to search for specimens of the hammered coins of Charles II. Fortunately, however, Mr. L. A. Lawrence wrote to me and suggested the possibility of some of the pieces being of this coinage, as, in so fragmentary a condition, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the very similar issues of Charles I. and that of the first coinage of Charles II. Upon this, I carefully examined the pieces once more, with the result that whilst several may possibly be of Charles II., one certainly is. It is clipped from a half-crown of the hammered coinage of 1660–62, and contains on the *obverse* the letters **VS • II • D**, which are clearly a portion of the complete legend, **CAROLVS • II • D • G • MAG • BRIT • FRAN • ET HIB • RE***; and on the *reverse* **O • AV** as part of the inscription, **CHRISTO • AVSPICE • REGNO**. Fig. 15.

The discovery of this piece deduces the date of the hiding, or loss of the hoard to about 1660–1662, and it may be something more than a coincidence that it should occur at the very time when an active search was being made for political suspects. Was this the hoard of some puritanical recusant, whose conscience, whilst allowing him to clip the regal money which he held in disrepute, would not permit him to knowingly injure the currency of the Commonwealth? Or, as Shakespeare has the dogma in a wider sense—

It is no English treason to cut
French crowns, and to-morrow the King
Himself will be a *clipper*. *Henry V.*

This at least would account for the curious incident of the presence in the hoard of one piece only of Commonwealth-money, possibly the result of an absent moment, and the troubles to his cause which immediately followed the Restoration might account for the hider's sudden arrest upon political rather than felonious grounds.

It is again interesting to remember that it was in 1662 that the then new process of coining was introduced, with a view to render almost impossible the successful operation of this nefarious practice.

Thus we have the remarkable evidence before us of a find of clippings, probably deposited during the same year, which conclusively demonstrates the need for such a reformation of the coinage.

Towards the close of the preceding year it had been resolved to introduce the new process, and houses, mills, engines, and other materials for coinage of money by the mill, were ordered to be erected; all engraving of dies except in the Tower of London was prohibited, and Simon, the engraver, was required to bring in all the tools and engines for coining in his possession. In April, 1662, Blondeau, who had been again sent for out of France, was taken into the mint, and an agreement was entered into with him "to furnish all the mills, rollers, presses and other instruments, to cut, flatten, make round and size the pieces; the engine to mark the edges of the money with letters and grainings, the great presses for the coinage of monies, and other tools and engines for the new way of coining." Blondeau also engaged "to discover his secrets in rounding pieces before they are sized, and in marking the edges of the monies with letters and grainings unto his Majesty, and unto the Warden, Master and Worker, and Comptroller of the Mint," etc. Thomas Simon and John Roettier, a native of Antwerp, were ordered to furnish the dies, "but by reason of a contest in art between them," they could not be brought to an agreement. Both made patterns for the new money, and Roettier's having been preferred, he was ordered to make puncheons and dies for the new coinage. Simon then produced his memorable "petition crown," and failing to obtain favour from his superiors, ceased to work any longer for the mint . . .

The crowns and half-crowns have the edges inscribed with DECVS ET TVTAMEN, and with one or two exceptions the year of the reign. The inscription, which was thus placed to prevent clipping without detection, was happily adopted to intimate that it was at once an ornament and a protection to the coin.¹

I have not been able to come across any references in the indices of the *Numismatic Chronicle* or elsewhere, to the discovery of coin clippings, so anything of the kind must be extremely rare, and, with the exception of that described at the close of this paper, this find is possibly unique. We may make an attempt to estimate the number of complete coins which were treated by the clipper. The hoard weighed originally five pounds, eight ounces, twelve penny-weights troy, and as there are 1,690 clippings in the one pound I

¹ Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, p. 379.

examined, it must have consisted of about 9,660 clippings. Each clipping with a mint mark probably represents a separate coin, so that at least 99 complete coins are included amongst the 648 clippings I have been able to classify: this gives between six or seven clippings as representing one perfect coin. If we apply the same proportion to the whole find, we have a minimum total of between 1,400 and 1,600 complete coins represented in it, consisting of about 356 half-crowns, 608 shillings, and 534 sixpences or groats, a large sum of money for those days. But it is obvious that only coins of good weight would bear so severe a mutilation, and as many would be already lightened by similar methods, the true total must have been largely in excess of these figures. The find is also interesting in giving us some idea of the proportion of the coins of the different reigns and denominations in actual circulation at the time they were clipped, and the clippings subsequently hidden, because it was not in the interest of the clipper of coins to hoard them after mutilation; he would pass them again into circulation as quickly as possible so as to escape detection.

Mr. Lawrence, in the letter to which I have already referred, raised other questions which may be of interest, viz., as to the average weight of the pieces, the condition of the coins from which they were taken, whether more than one was taken from each coin, and, finally, what was the method of their separation? I will reply to these in the order named.

The weight of the pieces.—I have only weighed the 99 clippings with mint marks and three others.

Edward VI.—A *shilling*-clipping weighs 4·6 grains, and the clippings of the two *sixpences* 2·3 grains and 2·6 grains respectively, an average of 2·45 grains.

Elizabeth.—Eleven *shilling*-clippings vary in weight from 2·5 grains to 6·1 grains, giving an average of 4·11 grains. The eleven *Elizabeth sixpence or groat*-clippings vary from 0·7 grain to 4·4 grains, giving an average of 2·15 grains.

James I.—A *half-crown*-clipping weighs 7 grains. Eight *shilling*-clippings weigh from 3·1 grains to 5·7 grains, giving an average of 4·37 grains.—Five *sixpenny*-clippings weigh from 1·6 grain to 3·7 grains, giving an average of 2·08 grains.

Charles I.—Eighteen *half-crown*-clippings vary from 5·4 grains to

14 grains, giving an average of 8.29 grains.—Eighteen *shilling*-clippings vary from 2.2 grains to 6.5 grains, giving an average of 4.13 grains. Twenty-five *sixpenny*-clippings vary from 1.9 grain to 3.4 grains, giving an average of 2.68 grains.

Commonwealth.—The single *shilling*-clipping weighs 7.2 grains.

Charles II.—The *half-crown*-clipping weighs 7.5 grains.

The average weight of all the *half-crown*-clippings is 7.59 grains, the average weight of all the *shilling*-clippings is 4.88 grains, and the average weight of all the *sixpence* or *groat*-clippings is 2.34 grains.

The condition of the coins from which the clippings were taken.—All the clippings appear to have come from coins which had been more or less in circulation; some few pieces are almost in mint condition, but many are much worn, especially those of Queen Elizabeth. Many of the clippings exhibit on the convex border marks which prove that the coins had already been clipped to a less extent and then passed into circulation before the present clippings were filched from them.

Whether more than one clipping was taken from each coin.—There can be no doubt that several clippings were taken from each single coin, as is evidently the case with mutilated specimens of the coinage of Charles I. which I have had in my possession for many years.

The method of separation.—A large pair of clippers or nippers was most probably used: the marks of the instrument are equally evident on both the *obverse* and the *reverse* of most of the clippings, and they slope towards the middle of the thickness of the coin, causing them to have a bevelled cut margin. This can best be discerned in the largest pieces, viz., the *half-crown* clippings. I have tried some experiments with shears or large scissors, and find that if these are employed, the clipping tends to curl up at each extremity, and that the cut edge or margin is level, and at right angles to the surfaces of the clipping, very unlike the bevelled-off margins I have already described. With nippers I have been able to reproduce clippings exactly like those in the find, for clippings so cut remain flat and do not curl up. It will be noticed in the illustration that all the clippings of the find are flat.¹

¹ Mr. Roth proved this contention by practical demonstration when reading the paper to the Society.—THE EDITORS.

In conclusion of this account I wish to express my thanks to Mr. John West, for having allowed me to bring this remarkable find before the British Numismatic Society, and to Mr. Lawrence for his valuable suggestions.

TABLE OF THE 648 CLIPPINGS WHICH HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED.

Reign.	Half-crowns.	Shillings.	Sixpences.	Mint Marks.	Total.
Edward VI....	—	1	2	1	3
Philip and Mary	—	1	—	—	1
Elizabeth ...	—	74	70 ¹	22	144
James I. ...	17	52	39	14	108
Charles I. ...	136	134	120	61	390
Commonwealth	—	1	—	1	1
Charles II. ...	1	—	—	—	1
	154	263	231	99	648

THE SOUTHWARK FIND.

About the year 1897, which is as nearly as I can now ascertain the date, a house in Southwark was being demolished, when the workmen discovered an earthen vase, somewhat resembling a modern flower-pot, which contained a quantity of clippings from silver coins. The coins from which they had been taken were almost precisely of the period comprised in the Marcham find, which I have just described; for of the eight clippings from the hoard which Mr. A. H. Baldwin kindly submitted for my examination,² the earliest is of about the year 1594, and the latest of the year 1644. As these, however, represent but a small fraction of the whole, it is not improbable that the

¹ Including groats.

² They constituted all that he possessed, and are now added to my collection.

dates still more closely correspond, although it is more likely that the deposit or loss would be before, rather than after the Restoration, for in the troublous times of civil war such practices as false-coining and clipping can almost pass unheeded by the authorities.

With the date, however, the similarity between the two hoards ends, for whilst the clipper at Marcham was content to cut away small straight pieces from the edge of the coin, the transgressor at Southwark was far more methodical in his work and carefully removed a complete outer ring from each coin. This throws a new light upon our knowledge of the methods employed in the old days for defrauding the revenue. In the Marcham case I have, I think, proved that the sections were removed by means of a clipper and not of shears, for the cut edges presented two facets, one above and one below. The Southwark specimens on the other hand have quite a differently cut edge, with only one facet, and each clipping follows and includes the whole margin of the coin.

At the ordinary meeting of the Society on October the 12th, 1904, I was able to demonstrate how this result was obtained by using a tool, known as a tinman's bent-snips, and used for cutting sheet iron or tin. Commencing by cutting obliquely through the legend of a coin of the same period, and continuing the cut round the inner circle, I readily removed the whole of the legend, with the result that the clipping was very similar indeed to the eight specimens from the hoard which I then exhibited.

The eight specimens referred to are all removed from shillings, a feature which it would be interesting to check with the rest of the hoard if that were now possible. They vary in weight from 35·5 to 50 grains troy, and may be described as follows:—

Elizabeth, Mint mark, Ton	= 1592-95, weight 48·9 grains.	Fig. 1.
" " 2	= 1602, " 47·5 " "	2.
James I. " Rose	= 1605-06, " 45 " "	3.
Charles I. " Horizontal Anchor	= 1628 or 1638, weight 44·8 [grains.	Fig. 4.
" " Vertical Anchor	= 1628 or 1638, weight 42·8 [grains.	Fig. 5.
" " Ton	= 1636-38, weight 35·5 grains.	" 6.



1. ELIZABETH.
m. m. ton.



2. ELIZABETH.
m. m. 2.



3. JAMES I.
m. m. rose.



4. CHARLES I.
m. m. horizontal anchor.



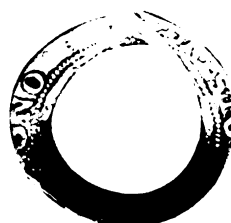
5. CHARLES I.
m. m. vertical anchor.



6. CHARLES I.
m. m. ton.



7. CHARLES I.
m. m. (R).



8. CHARLES I.
m. m. sun.

SPECIMENS OF CLIPPINGS, SOUTHWARK FIND.

M

Charles I., Mint mark (R) = 1644, weight 50 grains. Fig. 7.
 „ „ Sun = 1645 „ 44'1 „ „ 8.

It is quite possible that a search amongst the contemporary records of Criminal Trials might throw light upon the deposit of one or other of these curious finds, but the methods of a clipper were secret, and it is as likely that his gains were lost when Death in turn

Clipped his wings and cut him short,
 Confined within the purlieus of his court. *Dryden.*

BRIEF MUSINGS ON THE EXURGAT MONEY.

By F. STROUD, OF LINCOLN'S INN,

Recorder of Tewkesbury.

IT is, probably, trite to observe that, of all the legends that have adorned the moneys of our own or any other nation, there is none with a history so illustrious, or with associations so varied and deeply interesting as.

EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI.

It is the exordium of the 68th Psalm, that great Pentecostal hymn which from time immemorial has been accepted by the entire Western Church as especially appropriate to Whit Sunday. But ages before the Christian era it was the national anthem of the Jews when they were fighting their way to the Promised Land; for we read in the Book of Numbers (10 ch., v. 35), "And it came to pass when the Ark set forward that Moses said, 'Rise up, Lord! and let Thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate Thee flee before Thee!'" "I cannot doubt," says Calvin, "that Moses dictated this form of prayer for all ages, in order that the faithful, relying on the Ark of the Covenant as the visible symbol of God's presence, might rest sure that they would be safe."

For centuries it has been, as it still is, a war-cry. Thus on one occasion good St. Anthony for hours wrestled in his ruined tower with his spiritual foes, physically real to him though unseen by anyone else, and when at last he felt he had achieved the victory, his sonorous voice was heard exclaiming with exultation, "*Exurgat Deus dissipentur inimici.*" So, as the morning sun arose on the 3rd September, 1650, on

M 2

the stricken field of Dunbar where, over greatly superior numbers, Cromwell defeated Leslie and accomplished the subjugation of the Scotch Royalists, the rout was urged by Cromwell's cry of triumph, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered." So, when Napoleon was driven from Moscow by the flames and commenced that retreat which proved so disastrous, a service of thanksgiving was held in the cathedral of the Kremlin, when the Metropolitan of Moscow gave as the text of his sermon to the vast congregation of Russians there assembled, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered."

The history of the use of the *Exurgat* legend on our money associates itself with the great conflict between Protestantism and the Papacy in the sixteenth century, and with our modern (as distinguished from the early) English psalter. Thomas Sternhold, groom of the robes to Henry VIII., was, probably, inspired to what we now call the Old Metrical English version of the Psalms (Sternhold and Hopkins) by the success of Clement Marot, valet of the bed-chamber to Francis I., who originated the French metrical psalter. The use of these metrical versions became in those days a symbol of Protestantism, whilst Beza's version of the 68th Psalm, and especially its opening stanza,

Que Dieu se monstre seulement,
Et on verra soudainement
Abandonner la place
Le camp des ennemis espars,
Et ses haineux, de toutes pars,
Fuir deuant sa face,

became the war-cry of the Huguenots. Many a successful battle was fought by those sturdy French Protestants to the animating strains of "Let God arise!"

It was a vitalizing cry when James I. ascended the English throne, and in that sense, I suggest, he adopted it as a legend on his first issue of gold and silver money (1603-4); but, so far as I know, and hereon I invite correction, he only used it for the coinage on that one occasion. Nor (so far as I can find) was it adopted by Charles I. until his conflict with his Parliament became acute. Then the need for a popular war-cry arose. At the Privy Council at Wellington on

the 19th September, 1642, Charles had made a declaration that he would support the Protestant religion, the Laws of England, and the just Privileges of Parliament. Shortly after that Council came the issue of the Exurgat money.

As I look on this representation of the £3 piece (1643) of the early days of the Oxford Mint, I muse on it with varied emotions. To me it conjures up our beloved England in a tragic crisis such as it has never since known, a country torn and distracted, brother against brother, the Parliament men in possession of London, and the King exercising his great^r prerogative of coining money away from his capital from which he had fled. Like modern political



GOLD THREE-POUND PIECE OF CHARLES I.

chieftains in search of a “cry,” the King and his Council, with anxious brain and heart, determined to embody the royal appeal to the people in the money which the people would handle. Hence arose “The Declaration,” technically so called,

RELIG · PROT : LEG · ANG : LIBER · PAR.

Thus the new money, which on its obverse represented the King in royal vesture with the Sword of Royal Rule in his extended right hand and the Olive Branch of Peace in his reserved left hand, expressed on its reverse the kingly principles enunciated at Wellington, and round all these ran the Huguenot war-cry, “Exurgat Deus, dissipentur inimici!”

So men have ever thought or claimed, that the God of Battles is

theirs. But how can even Almighty God give victory to both sides when these two are closed in a death struggle? I leave that question to your musings.

Certainly Charles's claim to the Divine favour did in no way diminish the ardour of the Parliament men, and conspicuously Cromwell claimed, almost as vehemently as did Joan of Arc, that God was on the side of the Parliament in general and of himself in particular. And here let me illustrate a Commonwealth crown of 1649. The execution of Charles at Whitehall had just been accomplished, and new money impressed with a new authorization had to be issued. On this the country had the Parliamentary counter-blast to Charles's



SILVER CROWN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Exurgat; for the legend on the reverse of the Commonwealth money is, in plain English, GOD WITH VS—the divine favour for Cromwell and the Parliament being claimed in the most absolute way, “God has been, is, and will be, with us.”

“God with us” of the Commonwealth was, and hereon I again invite correction, the last time that our money claimed the peculiar friendship of God. It got weakened down to the PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO of the (probably unissued) money of Cromwell, and to the FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA and CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO of the Restoration. Then our money gradually ceased to be legendary, till, on one of the florins of Queen Victoria, even the “D.G.” was discontinued, an omission so distasteful to the public

as to earn for it the sobriquet of "the Godless Florin" to this day.

But though we no longer use the *Exurgat* legend on our money, we still keep up the Mosaic rule and retain it in our National Anthem, one stanza of which runs,

Oh Lord! *our* God arise!
Scatter his enemies,
And make them fall!

Yet I have observed that that stanza is frequently omitted when popular assemblies are called on to join in "God save the King." England, though still young and lusty and strongly developing her great Empire, has grown old in experience, and has laid and is laying to heart the old saying, "God helps those who help themselves"; and whilst we claim that our navy and army must lack nothing, still, as a nation and as men, it is permissible for us, in the spirit of Him whose *Exurgat* Triumphal Hymn we sing at Pentecost, to pray, "O God, arise! May we have no enemies except those that are Thine."




COPPER COINAGE OF IRELAND

PL. I.

THE COINAGE OF IRELAND IN COPPER, TIN, AND PEWTER.


BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D.

 HE coinage of Ireland in the baser metals, began during the reign of Henry VI., in the year 1460, and continued through a period of nearly four hundred years, until the reign of George IV., at which time the coinages of England and Ireland were assimilated. From the above it will be seen that the issue of pieces in copper for use in Ireland preceded the corresponding coins for the sister kingdom by about one hundred and forty years, since it was not until 1601 that patterns for a copper currency were prepared for England.¹

HENRY VI., 1422-1461.

HALF-FARTHING.

Half-farthings were authorized in the year 1460, of which the following is the description :—

Obverse.— **PATRICK** O, surrounding an open crown, within a circle of pellets.

Reverse.—A cross pattée within a circle of pellets. Weight, 11 grains.
Pl. I, 1.

Varieties occur, with the crown closed, Pl. I, 2 ; with a cross following **K**, upon the reverse of which **P** is found in one quarter of the cross. Pl. I, 3.

¹ All coins are struck in copper unless the contrary is expressed.

EDWARD IV., 1461-1483.

In the year 1463 an Act was passed confirming letters patent granted to one Germyn Lynch, goldsmith of London, whereby he was created warden and master worker of the mints at Dublin and Trim. He was thereby empowered to issue pieces of the value of farthings and half-farthings, struck in brass, for the use of his mint workmen.

THE PATRICIVS FARTHING. 1463.

Obverse.—**PATRICIVS** A bishop's head, mitred, full face, on the right of which is an eight-rayed sun, and on the left a six-leaved rose.

Reverse.—**S AL VÆ TOR** A cross pattée with roses and suns in alternate angles, suns and roses alternately dividing the letters in the legend. Weight, $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Pl. I, 4.

VARIETIES.

Obverse.—1. A sun to the left, a rose to the right of the mitre. 2. A cross replacing the rose to the left of the mitre. Pl. I, 5.

Reverse.—The letters are divided by alternate mullets and roses, with a cross pattée, mullets and roses in alternate angles.

HALF-FARTHING. 1463.

Obverse.—A crown surrounded by roses and crowns.

Reverse.—A cross extending to the edge of the coins with three pellets in each angle. Weight, 6 grains.

FARTHING. 1467.

Obverse.—**EDWARDVS DNS HYBER.** A shield bearing three crowns, two and one, a small cross occurs above and on each side of the shield. Mint mark, a rose.

Reverse.—**CIVITAS DVBLIN.** A cross pattée with a rose at the points of junction of the limbs, dividing the coin to the outer circle; in each of the quarters so formed are three rays extending to the inner circle. Weight, $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains. Pl. I, 7.

A variety occurs reading **HYBERNI** on the obverse, and **DVBLINIE** on the reverse.

HALF-FARTHING. 1470.

Obverse.—Full-faced bust of king crowned, within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—A cross, within a dotted circle, three pellets within each angle.
The legends on both sides are illegible. Weight, $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
Pl. I, 6.

This coin corresponds with the sixth silver issue of this king.

During the period of the following one hundred and thirty years no copper coinage was issued for Ireland, and it was not until 1601 that the next copper money appeared for use in that kingdom.

ELIZABETH, 1558–1603.

In the year 1601 it was proposed to strike pieces in copper of the value of pence, halfpence and farthings, in order to maintain the army at that time engaged in the suppression of O'Neill's rebellion. We have of the years 1601–1602 pieces of the two former values, but of the latter none are now known to exist. They were struck at the rate of $190\frac{1}{2}$ pence to each pound of copper.

PENNY.

Obverse.—**ELIZABETH • D : G : AN : FR : ET : HIBER : RE :**
A shield bearing the arms of France (modern) and England quarterly between **E R**. Mint mark, a star.

Reverse.—**POSVI • DEV : ADIVTOREM. MEV :** Irish harp, surmounted by a crown, on either side of the harp is the date 16–01. Mint mark, a star. Weight, 30 grains. Pl. I, 9.

On pence of the year 1601 we also find the trefoil and cross as mint marks, whereas the martlet and crescent are the mint marks on the pence of 1602.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—**ELIZABETH • D : G : AN : FR : ET : HIB : RE :** Type as the penny. Mint mark, a star.

Reverse.—Type as the penny. Mint mark, a star. Weight, 15 grains.
Pl. I, 8.

The trefoil and cross also occur as mint marks for 1601, the martlet alone for 1602.

JAMES I. 1603-1625.

On April 10th, 1613, John, Lord Harington, of Exton, in Rutland, obtained a patent for a period of three years to coin pieces of the value of a farthing, to be current in England, Ireland and Wales, each of which was to weigh 6 grains, the profits from which coinage he was to share with the King, and at the same time all other tokens were declared to be illegal.

The want of coins of small value had at this time occasioned the increase of a practice which greatly needed reformation. Private traders, finding themselves unable to carry on their business without smaller money than the legal coins, were driven by necessity to provide something to supply the deficiency of the lawful currency; and accordingly they had, for some years past, struck farthing tokens, as they were called, in lead.

Both the conveniences, and also the evils, which resulted from this infringement of the royal prerogative, were fully stated in the proclamation by which these illegitimate coins were abolished upon the 19th May in the year 1613.

It commenced with an acknowledgment that in times past some toleration had existed in the realm of tokens of lead, commonly known by the name of farthing tokens, to pass between vintners, tapsters, chandlers, bakers and other like tradesmen and their customers; whereby such small portions and quantities of things vendible as the necessity and use, especially of the poorer sort of people, oftentimes required, might be conveniently bought and sold without enforcement to buy more ware than would serve for their use and occasions. But it objected that the manner of issuing them and the use of them, as they passed only between customers, did not that good to the public which might by a more general use be effected. That they were subject to counterfeiting, loss and deceit; for sometimes they were refused as doubtful things, and sometimes by the death or removal of those who gave them, were lost and discredited. And also, that it was some derogation to the royal prerogative that such tokens should be allowed to have currency in any degree with the lawful money of the realm. Therefore notice was given by the proclamation that His Majesty, being willing to continue to his subjects the good arising from the use of such small monies under such

directions and cautions as might restrain the abuse of them, had given power and authority by letters patent to John, Lord Harrington (*sic*), baron of Exton, and his executors, administrators, deputies and assigns, to make such a competent quantity of farthing tokens of copper as might be conveniently issued amongst his subjects within the realms of England and Ireland, and the dominion of Wales, during the term mentioned in the said letters patent. That it was not his Majesty's intention thereby to make them monies, nor to force his subjects to receive them in payments, otherwise than with their own good liking, but only to give them licence and means to use them according to their occasions, and that without any fee, charge, or constraint in any wise imposed upon them.

The proclamation further declared, that the said farthing tokens should be made exactly and artificially of copper by engines and instruments, having on the one side two sceptres crossing under one diadem, and on the other side a harp crowned with the king's title, JACOBUS DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX; with a privy mark to be set upon them, from time to time, whereby to discern and distinguish them, and to be altered according to occasion, for preventing the falsifying and counterfeiting of the same. Such farthing tokens to pass for the value of farthings within the king's realms and dominions, with the liking and consent of his loving subjects.

And therefore it was commanded by the proclamation that, after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist next following the date thereof, no person should use, deliver, or receive any such leaden tokens as were formerly tolerated, nor make or counterfeit such farthing tokens of copper, or the engines or instruments by which they should be made, nor utter any other farthing tokens whatsoever upon such pains, penalties and imprisonments as might be inflicted by the statutes of the realm of England, and by the king's prerogative royal.

In order for the better distributing and dispersing these farthing tokens, the Lord Harrington was bound to deliver at the rate of one and twenty shillings in farthing tokens for every twenty shillings in sterling money; and also for the space of one year, until the said tokens should have grown into more general use and were well dispersed, to deliver to any person who should find himself surcharged with more of them than he could conveniently utter for his use and occasions, the sum of twenty shillings in sterling money, for every sum of one and twenty shillings in farthing tokens, and after that rate for lesser sums where any tradesman should require the same. All magistrates etc., were commanded to assist Lord Harrington in circulating them. *Ruding*, Vol. I, p. 369.

As Lord Harington, and his son also, died shortly afterwards, the patent was re-granted to Lady Ann Harington, and subsequently to the Duke of Lennox. The original contractors for this coinage were Gerard Malynes and William Cockayne.

The coinage may be described as follows:—

FARTHING.

Obverse.—IACO : D : G : MAG : BRIT : (BRI :). A crown with two sceptres in saltire.

Reverse.—FRA : ET : HIB : REX. A harp, above which is a crown.
Weight, 6 grains. Pl. I, 10.

The mint mark usually occurs on the obverse only, but on some few examples it is found on both sides. In such cases the following mint marks occur, viz. :—

Cross, Fusil, Flower and Rose.

The mint marks which are found on the obverse only, are—

Annulet.	Eagle's head erased.	Quatrefoil.
Ball.	Ermine spot.	Rose.
Bell.	Fleur de lys.	Serpent.
Boar's head.	Three ditto.	Star.
Cinquefoil.	Flower.	Spur-rowel.
Comet.	Fret.	Stirrup.
Coronet.	Fusil.	Sword.
Crescent.	Grapes.	Thistle head.
Cross.	Key.	Tower.
„ fitchée.	Lion passant.	Trefoil.
St. George's Cross imposed	„ rampant.	Two ditto inverted.
upon St. Andrew's.	Lozenge.	Triangle.
Crown.	Martlet.	Tun.
Dagger.	Mullet pierced.	Woolpack.
„ inverted.	Pellet.	

Varieties are found with mint marks on the reverse only, viz., a cinquefoil, martlet, and fleur de lys. Pl. I, 11.

There is a variety on which the legend, instead of reading from the top, as on the previous examples, reads from the left lower

quadrant, and on this the mint mark Cross occurs on both sides. Pl. I, 12.

A very small piece, weighing about 5 grains, has been thought to have been intended for a half-farthing, of which the design is similar to the first farthing described. Pl. I, 13. The mint mark, a fret clouée, occurs only on the reverse, and is described as the "Harington Knot." Immediately beneath the crown between the lower ends of the sceptres may be found one of the following capital letters :—

A, B, C, D, E, F, or the figures 0, 1, 2.

CHARLES I. 1625-1649.

On July 11th, 1626, the previous patent was confirmed to Sir Francis Crane, and Frances, Dowager Duchess of Richmond, for the coining of farthing tokens for a period of seventeen years, for which privilege they were to pay an annual rent of 100 marks to the Crown, and the tokens were to be changed at the rate of 21s. to the pound sterling.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—CARO : D : G : MAG : BRIT : (BRI :). Above two sceptres in saltire, a crown.

Reverse.—FRA : ET : HIB : REX : A harp surmounted by a crown. Weight, 7 grains. Pl. I, 15.

The mint marks, of which the following are found, occur on the obverse only—

Annulet.	Coronet.	Dagger inverted.
„ with pellets.	Crescent.	Eye.
„ beneath cross.	„ with mullet.	Fetter lock.
Ball.	Cross.	Figure I.
Battle axe.	„ pellets in angles.	Fleur de lys.
Bell.	„ on steps.	Two ditto.
Bellflower.	„ fitchée.	Three ditto.
Billet.	„ fleury.	Fleur de lys, horizontal.
Cannon.	„ pattée.	Fusil.
Castle.	„ on pellet.	Two ditto.
Cinquefoil.	Crown.	Hand.
Comet.	Dagger.	Heart.

Helmet.	Martlet.	Shield.
Hook.	Mascl.	Star.
Horseshoe.	Nautilus.	Star-fish.
Key.	Negro's head.	Tower.
„ crowned.	Omega.	Tree.
Leaf.	Pear.	Trefoil.
Leopard's head.	Pheon.	Triangle.
Lion crowned.	Quatrefoil.	Tun.
„ rampant.	Rose.	Vase.
Lozenge.	Serpent.	Woolpack.

In the Imperial cabinet at Vienna there is a silver proof reading on the obverse—BRI. Mint mark, cross.

An example occurs with mint mark lozenge, reading CARO, struck over IACO.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—CARO : D : G : MAG : (MA :) BR : (BRI : or BRIT :)
Surmounting two sceptres in saltire, a crown.

The legend reads from the left lower quadrant, whilst the mint mark is found below—

Reverse.—FRA : ET : HIB : REX. A harp, above which is a crown. Weight, 6½ grains. Pl. I, 16.

The following mint marks occur, always on the obverse, but sometimes also on the reverse :—

Crescent.	Fleurs de lys.	Fret.
Small cross.	Three fleurs de lys.	Rose.
Cross pattée.		

A variety reads :—

Obverse.—CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRI :

Reverse.—FRAN : ET : HIB : REX. Mint mark, fleur de lys.
Pl. I, 16.

No. 3. *Obverse*—CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRIT. Within a dotted circle, above two sceptres in saltire, a crown.

Reverse.—FRAN · ET · HIB · REX. Within a dotted circle a harp, above which is a crown. Weight, 12 grains.
Pl. I, 17.

The following mint marks occur on both obverse and reverse :—

Bell.	Eye.	Harp.	Nautilus.	Shield.
Cross.	Fleur de lys.	Martlet.	Rose.	Woolpack.

There also exist the following mint marks differing on obverse from reverse :—

<i>Obverse.</i> —Fleur de lys	=	<i>Reverse.</i> —Portcullis.
„ Fret	=	„ Fleur de lys.
„ Harp	=	„ Bell.
„ Harp	=	„ Woolpack.
„ Martlet	=	„ Bell.
„ Portcullis	=	„ Woolpack.
„ Woolpack	=	„ Portcullis.
„ „	=	„ Rose.

Examples are known with the following mint marks on the obverse only :—

Harp.	Woolpack.	Fleur de lys.
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The specimens of this type are of excellent workmanship and design.

All these coins were impressed upon thin sheets of copper and subsequently cut out with a punch, Pl. I, 14 ; but examples have survived to our time, on which as many as nine coins occur on one strip of metal. *Weightman Cabinet.* Mr. Baldwin informs me that he once saw an undivided plate bearing about eighty-one coins.

On account of the abuses, developed in connection with the above described tokens, a new farthing, called the rose or royal farthing, was issued in 1635, and of this there exist three distinct varieties.

No. 4. *Obverse.*—CAROLV : D : G : MA : (MAG :) BR . (BRI :) Above two sceptres, in saltire horizontally, a single-arched crown.

Reverse.—FR : ET HIB : REX : Above a rose a single-arched crown, mint mark on both sides, a mullet. Weight, 15 grains. Pl. I, 18.

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No. 5.—CAROLVS (CAROLV) D : G : MA : (MAG :) BR (BRI or BRIT). Above two sceptres in saltire perpendicularly, a crown.

Reverse.—FR. (FRA or FRAN) ET . HI . (HIB) REX. Weight, 13 grains. Pl. I, 19.

The following are the mint marks found :—

<i>Obverse</i> .—Mullet	=	<i>Reverse</i> .—Mullet.
„ Crescent	=	„ Crescent.
„ Mullet	=	„ „
„ Crescent	=	„ Mullet.
„ Fleur de lys	=	„ Crescent.
„ Crescent (obverse only).		

These coins have a splash of brass inserted in them and are on thick flans.

A silver proof is known with the mint mark fleur de lys :—

No. 6. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS . D : G . MAG : BRI (BRIT.) Surmounting two sceptres in saltire placed perpendicularly, a double-arched crown.

Reverse.—FRAN . ET . HIB . REX. Above a double rose, a double arched crown. Weight, 18 grains. Pl. I, 20.

Three mint marks occur on both obverse and reverse, viz., fleur de lys, mullet, and crescent, whilst the following mint marks appear thus :—

<i>Obverse</i> .—Mullet	=	<i>Reverse</i> .—Crescent.
„ Fleur de lys	=	„ „
„ Crescent	=	„ Mullet.
„ Fleur de lys	=	„ „
„ Mullet	=	„ Fleur de lys.
„ Mullet (obverse only).		

Varieties occur reading FRAN : ET : HIBE : REX and FRA : ET : HIBER : REX.

There are two patterns in copper doubtless struck as being improvements upon the Richmond farthings ; they are as follows :—

FARTHING.

Obverse.—CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRITANN. A double-arched crown and sceptres within an inner circle.

Reverse.—FRAN · ET · HIBER · REX · B. A harp beneath a crown within an inner circle.

The “B” on the reverse is the initial of the engraver, Briot.

FARTHING.

Obverse.—CARO · D · G : MA : BRI : A crown with single arch.

Reverse.—FRA : ET · HIB : REX. Two sceptres in saltire.

The mint mark occurs on both sides. Weight, 15 grains.
Hoblyn Collection.

Money of necessity was issued during the wars in Ireland, at five places, viz., Bandon, Cork, Kilkenny, Kinsale and Youghal. The coins struck at Kilkenny were issued in 1642 by “The Confederated Catholics,” those at the remaining towns by the “Malignants” or adherents of the king, 1646–1647. The Proclamation of the “Confederated Catholics” at Kilkenny, November 15th, 1642, ordered “that there shall be 4,000 lbs. of red copper coyned to farthings and half-pence with the harp and the crown on one side and two scepters on the other.”

KILKENNY, 1642.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRI. Within a circle, two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

Reverse.—FRAN : ET : HIBER : REX. Within a circle, a crowned harp between C. R. Weight, 75 grains.

This coin also occurs reading FRA · ET · HIB · REX. Pl. I, 21.

The mint mark, which is found on both sides, is a harp. These coins were very extensively fabricated and we frequently find pieces variously countermarked, in order to distinguish the genuine coins from the false. The following countermarks occur, K, a shield bearing a castle and K, and five castles, arranged in a circle. Pl. I, 22, 23.

N 2

FARTHING.

Obverse.—CARO : D : G : MAG : BRI : Two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

Reverse.—FRA · ET : HIB : REX. A crowned harp between C. R.
No mint mark. Weight, 34 grains. Pl. I, 21A.

The majority of these coins are very ill-struck; and it is extremely difficult to meet with examples showing the complete design.¹

A copper piece also exists which is quite plain except that KILKENNY is struck upon it within an oblong indent. *Hoblyn Cabinet.* Pl. I, 24.

BANDON.

COPPER COIN.

Obverse.—B. B, within a circle of small lozenges.

Reverse.—Three castles within a circle of small lozenges. Pl. I, 25.

This coin, which is struck upon an octagonal flan of copper, weighs 30 grains and is of rude execution. The letters B B doubtless represent Bandon Bridge, which was the original name of the town.

KINSALE.

FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse.*—K. S, enclosed within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—A chequered shield. Pl. I, 26.

This piece is struck on a rectangular flan, and weighs 35 grains.

No. 2. *Obverse.*—K. S, within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—A shield bearing fourteen pellets.

This coin is also struck upon a rectangular flan, and weighs 55 grains.

¹ In the collection of Mr. Hoblyn, however, are three specimens of the halfpenny (two octagonal and one circular), containing the whole design, with full margins, and in excellent preservation.



COPPER COINAGE OF IRELAND

YOUGHAL, 1645-1646.

FARTHINGS.

- No. 1. *Obverse*.—Y. T, beneath which is the date 1646, and above a bird ;
the whole within a double linear circle. Weight,
14 grains.
Reverse.—A galley, enclosed within a double linear circle. Pl. II, 2.
- No. 2. *Obverse*.—Y. T, above which is a bird within a double linear circle.
Weight, 15 grains.
Reverse.—A galley enclosed by a double dotted circle. Pl. II, 3.
- No. 3. *Obverse*.—Y. T, beneath which is the date 1646. Weight, 54 grains.
Reverse.—A galley enclosed by double linear circles. Pl. II, 4.
- No. 4. *Obverse*.—Y. T, beneath which is the date 1646, and above a branch.
Weight, 23 grains.
Reverse.—A galley surrounded by a double linear circle. Pl. II, 1.
- No. 5. *Obverse*.—Y. T, within a dotted circle. Weight, 9 grains.
Reverse.—A fish surrounded by a dotted circle. Pl. II, 6.
- No. 6. *Obverse*.—Y. T, within two circles of pellets. Weight, 20 grains.
Reverse.—A galley on shield enclosed by a circle of triangular dots.
Pl. II, 5.
- No. 7. *Obverse*.—Y. T, in an elaborated circle enclosed by a circle of small
triangles. Weight, 25 grains.
Reverse.—A shield bearing a galley, within a circle of triangles.

With the exception of the last all the preceding coins are of rough execution, and are, as is also the last, struck upon square brass flans.

TWOPENCE.

- Obverse*.—^{II}
1645
Reverse.—A galley enclosed within a double circle.

This coin is struck upon a square brass flan.

THREEPENCE.

- Obverse*.—^D
III, within a circle of dots.
Reverse.—^{CR}
1646, enclosed by dotted circle.

This piece is struck in pewter.

UNCERTAIN COPPER COIN.

- Obverse*.—Within a circular indent C · R beneath a crown.
Reverse.—Blank.

This is counter-stamped upon a foreign copper coin which is too worn to decipher. I have classed it with the Youghal pieces on account of its resemblance to the coin described above. It is very similar to the silver money of necessity issued by James, Marquis of Ormonde, in 1643.

CORK, 1647.

FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—CORK within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—A castle within a dotted circle.

This is struck on a square flan. Weight, 35 grains. Pl. II, 7.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—CORK within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—A ship issuing from between two towers.

This coin is struck upon a square flan. Weight, 41 grains.

No. 3. *Obverse*.—CORKE under the head of a lion, whilst beneath are two branches, all within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—Blank. Pl. II, 8.

This piece, which is struck in brass, weighs 57 grains.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—CORK, within a dotted, enclosing a linear circle.

Reverse.—A castle.

This coin, which is upon a square flan of copper, weighs 84 grains.
Fletcher Collection.

We also find contemporary foreign coins overstruck CORK or CORKE: they were no doubt so countermarked for currency during the siege in 1647. Pl. II, 9, 10.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649–1660.

During the interregnum, coins would appear to have been issued at only two towns in Ireland, viz., Cork and Kerry; and they may be thus described:—

CORK.

FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse*.— ∴ A ∴ CORKE ∴ FARTHING surrounding a shield bearing the cross of St. George.

Reverse.— ∴ A ∴ CORKE ∴ FARTHING enclosing a shield bearing a harp. Weight, 66 grains. A variety occurs of smaller size.

No. 2. *Obverse*.— · A · CORKE · FARTHING · around an ornamental shield bearing the cross of St. George.

Reverse.— · A · CORKE · FARTHING · surrounding ornate shield bearing a harp. Mint mark on both sides, a mullet.

This coin, apparently a pattern, weighs 27 grains, and is in the *Fletcher Collection*.

No. 3. *Obverse*.—A CORKE FARTHIN enclosing the cross of St. George upon a shield.

Reverse.—A CORKE FARTHIN surrounding a shield bearing a harp. Weight, 14 grains.

No. 4. *Obverse*.—As No. 3.

Reverse.—As No. 1. *Fletcher Collection*.

The majority of these coins are very ill-struck ; and not a few are found over-struck upon the double-tournois of Louis XIII.

KERRY.

FARTHING.

Obverse.—A shield bearing per pale, cross of St. George and harp.

Reverse.—KER.

This is struck upon a square flan of brass.

CHARLES II. 1660-1685.

The first coin to appear in this reign was a farthing issued under a patent granted December 14th, 1660, to Sir Thomas Armstrong. It is almost identical in design with the Harington farthings previously described, and from the occurrence of a capital R, on the jewelled band of the crown, on the obverse, it would appear that the dies from which it was struck were the work of the famous engraver,

Thomas Rawlins. Owing to the opposition of the Lord Lieutenant, James, Duke of Ormonde, the piece did not have a large circulation, and this possibly accounts for its comparative rarity.

FARTHING.

Obverse.—CAROLVS. II. D G. M. B. Within a dotted circle, two sceptres in saltire through a crown.

Reverse.—FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Mint mark, plume. Within a dotted circle, a harp surmounted by a crown. Weight, 30 grains. Pl. II, 11.

A silver proof exists of this coin, which is possibly unique. *Hoblyn Cabinet*.

ST. PATRICK'S MONEY.

During the year 1678, were issued, in all probability, the coins known as St. Patrick's money.

These coins, which are of copper, were struck in the city of Dublin, and for many years were a numismatic puzzle, as will be seen from the opinions expressed by various authorities in time past. Simon, in his *Irish Coins*, classes them among the Irish siege-money, and states that they were struck in Dublin in 1643, which was likewise the opinion of the Rev. H. Christmas, whilst Dr. Aquilla Smith and Evelyn considered them to have been issued within the period of 1660–1680. For the following reasons, the view which I myself hold is that they were struck in Dublin in 1678. These coins were specifically mentioned in a Tynwald Act of the Isle of Man, June 24th, 1679, in which Act it is declared that they shall cease to be current within the island on and after the first of January following. Likewise, in 1682, we find the State of New Jersey authorizing these pieces for currency, a large quantity having been imported, during the previous November, by one Mark Newby, when his party emigrated thither from Ireland. It would appear from the large number in circulation in 1679, that they must have been issued shortly before, and from the occurrence upon a St. Patrick's farthing, of the figure 8, beneath the kneeling figure of David, I would suggest the year 1678 as the most probable solution of the difficulty.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—FLOREAT REX. Mint mark, star. Figure of King David kneeling and playing the harp, above which is a crown.

Reverse.—ECCE GREX. Figure of St. Patrick standing, mitred, bearing a crozier in his left hand and a trefoil in his right hand, which he holds extended over a group of seven people, standing before him. The arms of Dublin, viz., a shield bearing three castles, are supported by two figures; edge engrailed. Weight, 142 grains. Pl. II, 14.

FARTHING.

Obverse.—As on the halfpenny, omitting the mint mark.

Reverse.—QVIESCAT. PLEBS. St. Patrick standing, holding in his left hand a metropolitan cross, whilst with his right hand he drives out the reptiles; behind and to the right is a church. Edge engrailed vertically. Weight, 77–105 grains. Pl. II, 12.

The halfpenny and farthing exist in copper, with a plug of brass impressed with a crown upon the obverse.

Many dies were evidently used, as the legends both on obverse and reverse differ in punctuation, as well as in the size and formation of the letters, as will be seen from the list below.

HALFPENCE.

FLORE AT REX .	· ECCE GREX 2 dies.
· · · FLORE AT REX ·	· ECCE · GREX 2 dies.
· FLOREAT · · * · · REX .	ECCE : GREX 1 die.
· · FLOREAT · · * · · REX	: ECCE · GREX 1 die.
· · FLOREAT · * : : REX .	

FARTHING.

FLOREAT : REX 1 die.	QVIESCAT · PLEBS . 1 die.
FLOREAT REX : 3 dies.	QVIESCAT · PLEBS . 1 die.
FLOREAT : REX : 13 dies.	QVIESCAT : PLEBS 2 dies.
FLOREAT · : REX : 1 die.	QVIESCAT PLEBS : 3 dies.
FLOREAT : REX : · 3 dies.	QVIESCAT : PLEBS : 1 die.
FLOREAT * REX * * * *	QVIESCAT PLEBS : · 2 dies.
1 die.	QVIESCAT : PLEBS : · 1 die.
QVIESCAT PLEBS 9 dies.	QVIESCAT * PLEBS *
QVIESCAT PLEBS . 2 dies.	1 die.

There exist proofs in silver both of the farthing and halfpenny, that of the halfpenny being of extreme rarity ; an example of the latter coin, much worn, was in the cabinet of Dr. Aquilla Smith, its weight being 176·5 grains.

The silver proof of the farthing, though less rare, is seldom met with, and weighs 114 grains, whilst a proof of this piece is also known in lead.

I have met with an ill-executed contemporary forgery of the farthing in copper, in which the plug of brass on the obverse is wanting. *Nelson Collection*. An example of a farthing struck in silver is in the *Caldecott Collection*, on which the head of St. Patrick occurs surrounded by a nimbus ; this piece is unique. Pl. II, 13.

In the year 1679, there was issued the following piece, which is now very rare :—

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—LONG . LIVE . THE . KING. A harp surmounted by a crown.

Reverse.—THE DVBLIN. HALFPENNIE. A shield bearing the arms of Dublin, viz., three castles (two and one), above which is the date, 1679, mint mark a cross. Weight, 168 grains. Pl. II, 16.

This coin was probably coined by the Dublin Corporation. A specimen is in the *Watters Cabinet*.

In the next year, 1680, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Armstrong and Col. George Legg, for the coinage of halfpence for Ireland, each of which was to weigh 107 grains, and for such right of coinage the patentees were to pay to the crown, the annual sum of £16 13s. 4d. in equal halves, on June 24th and December 25th, being liable to receive back their own coin at the rate of 21s. to the £1.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—CAROLVS . II . DEI . GRATIA. Laureated and draped bust of the King to right.

Reverse.—MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX. A harp surmounted by a crown, on either side of which is the date 16–80. Edge engailed. Weight, 110 grains. Pl. II, 17.

The following dates are found : 1680 large letters, 1681 large and

small letters, 1682, 1683, 1684, all with small lettering. Pl. II, 18. The bust on the pieces with small letters differs from the earlier coins; and the date 1684 is very rare. Silver proofs occur of 1680 and 1681, the latter with small lettering.

In or about the year 1680 was struck the following coin, which appears to be a pattern for a halfpenny; it is struck in copper, the design being as follows:—

Obverse.—CAROLVS . II . DEI . GRATIA. C R in double monogram beneath a crown.

Reverse.— . MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX. A harp beneath a crown. Weight, 82 grains. Pl. II, 15.

This piece is also found struck in pewter, and in either metal is of extreme rarity.

JAMES II. 1685–1688.

In the year 1685 we find the unexpired patent of Charles II. to Sir Thomas Armstrong, renewed on the same terms by James II. in favour of Sir John Knox.

HALFPENNY.

Obverse.—IACOBVS . II . DEI . GRATIA . Laureated and draped bust of the king to left.

Reverse.—MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX. A harp, above which is a crown dividing the date 1685. Weight, 125 grains. Pl. II, 19.

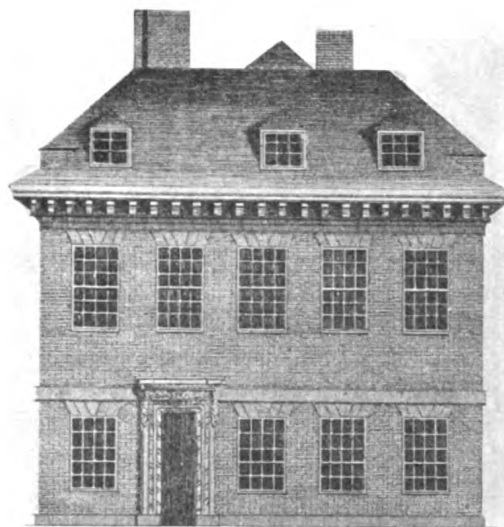
The following dates occur: 1685, 1686, 1687 and 1688, whilst of 1685 there is a proof in pewter. The date 1687 is of extreme rarity.

MONEY OF NECESSITY, 1689–1691, INCLUDING THE “GUN-MONEY.”

James II. having abdicated the English throne, retired to France in December, 1688; but in the following year, sailing for Ireland, he landed at Kinsale, March 12th, 1688,¹ and made his entry into Dublin on March 24th. On the twenty-fifth James raised, by

¹ To correspond with the coinage the “*old style*” is here followed.

proclamation, the value of English and foreign gold and silver coins, English gold being enhanced 20 per cent., and English silver $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the May following, the King, by a separate order, authorized the French three-and-a-half sous-piece, the original value of which was one penny and three-fifths, to be current at the rate of three pence halfpenny. Apparently, this method of providing supplies failed to



King James II.^d Mint House, N^o 27, Capel St.
Where the late Thomas Sheridan was born.

relieve the King's pressing necessities, since, on June the 18th, 1689, we find James issuing regal tokens of the value of sixpence, struck in brass and bearing the value and date of manufacture. The king for his own purposes set aside the patent granted by him to Sir John Knox in 1685, and, seizing upon his coining apparatus, established two mints, the one at 27, Capel Street, Dublin, the other at the Deanery, Limerick.

At the Dublin mint there were two presses at work called the "James" and the "Duchess" respectively. Various officers were appointed, namely, six commissioners, divided into first and second classes, two secretaries, one for each class, four comptrollers, two wardens, one treasurer, four tellers, four feeders, eight labourers at the fly, two porters, a messenger, two door keepers, and a storekeeper. The presses were continually at work day and night, the staff being double, and each party working twelve hours at a time. At Dublin, the commissioners were John Trinder, Chief Commissioner, Francis Rice, William Brinfield, Edward Fox, Thomas Goddard and William Talbot, the secretaries, John Tringer and Samuel Clark, the treasurer, Hewlet, and the Comptrollers, Holland, Dempsey, Osborn and Morgan; whilst at Limerick, Walter Plunket was the commissioner. It would appear that within a very short time the supply of metal for this coinage began to fail, since we find, in the following month, the commissioners of the mint engaged in active correspondence with their representatives throughout the country, respecting the purchase of metal, for the purposes of this issue.

In July were struck shillings and half-crowns of large size, the proclamation authorizing their issue having appeared during the previous month, and at the same time we find the commissioners authorized, as an inducement to the people to exchange their gold and silver for tokens of brass, to allow twenty shillings and sixpence in gun-money for every twenty shillings so tendered.

In the following March, 1689, pewter coins of the value of pence and halfpence were authorized for currency, which pieces we likewise find dated 1690. On April 21st, 1690, crown pieces struck in white metal were declared to be legal tender, but it would appear, from the rarity of these pieces, that but few, if any, can have found their way into circulation, though some five thousand were discovered in the mint at Dublin on the capture of that city in July, 1690. There are, however, specimens which show signs of considerable wear.

It is evident that at this time the amount of metal for the coinage of the gun-money pieces must have been greatly reduced, since we find that shillings and half-crowns were now issued of smaller size and

weight, and two months later, June, 1690, the large half-crowns, *i.e.* the pieces issued prior to May, 1690, were recalled and subsequently reissued as crowns, "surfrappé." The new design was stamped on the coins so recalled, and nearly all the examples show traces of their previous state. The material from which these gun-money coins were struck was largely composed of old church bells, kitchen utensils and disused cannon, whence their name. They were now, however, to become more harmful to friend than to foe, and they forcibly recall to mind the conversion of swords into ploughshares. Gun-metal was at this period (1689-90) worth from three pence to four pence per lb. but now by the necessities of the time, was forced into circulation at a greatly enhanced value. The principal losers by this nominal coinage were the Monarch's unfortunate adherents, who upon the reduction in value under the Acts of William and Mary, found themselves suddenly fined in proportion to their holdings; for by the first Act the crown and halfcrown were reduced in value to a penny each, the small halfcrown to three farthings, the large shilling to a halfpenny, whilst the small shilling and sixpence were only estimated at a farthing apiece. At the same time the pewter penny and halfpenny were reduced to a moiety of their original value.

That the quantity of gun-metal pieces struck was enormous will be apparent from the subjoined table :—

	lbs.	ozs.	were made into	£	s.	d.
Sixpences ...	14,080	3		49,042	6	6
Large shillings	62,422	2·5		245,879	17	0
„ halfcrowns	111,308	15·		443,498	10	0
Small shillings...	8,914	11·75		41,800	0	0
„ halfcrowns	21,267	·75		127,200	0	0
Total ...	216,993	1		£907,420	13	6

The intrinsic value of the metal at 4*d.* a pound amounted to £3,616 5*s.* 6*d.* only, but it was nevertheless declared current at the sum of £907,420 13*s.* 6*d.* To this we must also add the increased value of the large halfcrowns which were reissued as crowns, say £440,000 6*s.* 6*d.*, making in all £1,347,421. Practically the whole of

this sum must have found its way into currency, since there remained in the mint only the following pieces when it fell into the hands of the adherents of William and Mary :—

	£	s.	d.	Value each at	£	s.	d.
6000 gun-money sixpences ...	150	0	0	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	6	5	0
9043 „ shillings, large	452	3	0	$\frac{1}{2}d.$	18	16	9
126503 „ halfcrowns „ ...	15,812	17	6	$1d.$	527	1	11
4757 „ shillings, small	237	17	0	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	4	19	$1\frac{1}{4}$
2489 „ halfcrowns „ ...	311	2	6	$\frac{3}{4}d.$	7	15	6
17292 „ crowns... ..	4,323	0	0	$1d.$	72	1	0
4808 tin crowns... ..	1,202	0	0	$\frac{1}{4}d.$	5	0	2
	<hr/> £22,489 0 0				<hr/> £641 19 5 $\frac{1}{4}$		

Finally, in the year 1691, under the Act of William and Mary, all the above coins ceased to be current.

The dies for all the “money of necessity” of this monarch were engraved by Roettier, one of a family of medalists, which, for a period of some sixty years, was intimately associated with the Stuart cause. The design of all these coins is excellent, and the treatment of the king's portrait leaves little to be desired, showing at the same time a wealth of detail and a broadness of conception and execution, such as one could only expect from an artist of the eminence of Roettier.

All the pieces of later date than the month of July, 1690, at which time Dublin fell into the hands of the Conqueror of the Boyne, were issued from the mint at Limerick. This mint continued to issue gun-money until October, 1690, which was the last month of their striking. In the following year, pieces in brass of the value of halfpence and farthings were struck here, and are always found overstruck upon large and small gun-money shillings respectively, and were doubtless used by the inhabitants of the town, during the siege. Limerick was the last city to hold out for James, only yielding after a prolonged and gallant resistance, October 3rd, 1691. The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, maintaining to the last that brave demeanour which had made them as much respected by friend as feared by foe, after which they elected to enter the service of Louis XIV.

Such a debasement of a country's coinage as we have seen above, must ever be regarded as a sign of national weakness; also, from the sense of insecurity so engendered, it must inevitably bring disaster in its train, and such a fate overtook the cause of James alike in Ireland and in England.

It was doubtless the intention of King James to redeem his gun-money coins, month by month, as opportunity permitted. Circumstances, however, decreed otherwise, as after the battle of the Boyne he departed for France, and was compelled to leave his adherents to their fate.

Very unfavourably must the conduct of this monarch in respect to his currency, compare with that of his heroic father, who, even in the hour of his direst need, maintained the standard of purity of his coinage, a circumstance which must for all time be recorded to his honour.

SIXPENCE.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated and draped bust of the King to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J689. Two sceptres in saltire though a crown, above which is VI., beneath is the month of issue and on either side *S R*. Edge grained. Weight, 45–65 grains. Pl. III, 1.

This coin occurs with monthly dates from June, 1689, to June, 1690,¹ inclusive, whilst proofs occur in gold of February, and in silver of July, August, September, January and February. The subjoined is a list of varieties of lettering, the figures in parentheses being the number of variations in the dies; they total forty-nine.

1689.—*June* (2), *June.*, *Jvne.*, *July* (5), *July.*, *Aug* (4) one reads FR. *Aug.*, *Aug:*, *Aug'*, *Sep*, *Sep'*, *Sep'*, *Sep'*, *Sep'*, 7 *ber*, Pl. III, 2, *Oct:* *Nov*, *Nov.*, *Nov:*, *Dec.* (2), *Dec:* (2), *Jan* (2), *Jan.* (2), *Jan:* (3), *Feb* (4), *Mar*.

1690.—*Mar:*, *Apr*, *Apr:*, *May*, *May:*, *June:*, *Oct:*,

¹ In these dates it must be remembered that the old style was then in vogue, when the years commenced on the 25th March.

SHILLING, Large.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI GRATIA. Laureated head of the King to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1689. Two sceptres in saltire through a crown, above which is XII., beneath is the month of issue and on either side *S R*. Edge grained. Weight 63–121 grains. Pl. III, 3.

Coins of the months from July, 1689, to April, 1690, inclusive, are found, whilst proofs occur in gold of March and April, 1690, and in silver of July, August, September, January, February and March, 1689, and of March and April, 1690. The following is a list of seventy-eight varieties.¹

1689.—*July* (3), one has no stops on the *obverse*, *July*. (2), *Aug* (2), *Aug.*, *Aug.* : (2), *Aug*^t (2), *Aug*^t : (3). *Sep*^r (4), *Sep*^r., *Sep*^r : (3), *Sept.*, *Sept.*^r. *Oct* : (3), OCT, OCT. (2), one has no stops on the *obverse*. OCT^r., OCT^r, OCT, 8 BER, 8 BE^r., 8 BR, 8 br. *Nov*, *Nov.*, *Nov* : (3), *Nov*, *nov*^r : (3), one has a castle under the bust. Pl. III, 4. *Dec*, *Dec.*, *Dec* : (3), *Dec*^r., 10^r (2). *Jan* (2), *Jan* : (4), one has the a reversed *Jan* : of which coin there is a silver proof. *Feb* (2), *Feb.*, *Feb* : (3). *Mar*, *Mar.*, *Mar* :

1690.—*Mar*, *Mar.*, *Mar* : (2), *Apr.*, *Apr* : (3).

HALFCROWN, Large.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated and draped bust of the King to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. 1689. Two sceptres in saltire through a crown, above which is XXX, beneath is the month of issue, and on either side *S R*. Edge milled with a leaf pattern. Weight 200–250 grains. Pl. III, 5.

This issue bears monthly dates from July, 1689, to May, 1690 inclusive. In all some sixty-four varieties exist, whilst proofs in gold occur of April, 1690, and in silver of August, September, November, January, February and March, 1689, and of March and April, 1690.¹

¹ For explanation of the figures in brackets see list on page 192.

1689.—*July* (3), one has small *S R*, *Aug*, *Aug* : (2), *Aug* : , crown and sceptres reversed. Pl. III, 6. *Aug*^t, *Sep*^r (4), *Sep*^r : (3), *Sep*^t : , *Sept*^r., *Oct* : , *Oct*^r., OCT, OCT., OCT^r., 8^r, 8 BER. Pl. III, 7. *Nov*., *Nov* : (3), *Nov*., *Dec*. (2), *Dec* : (2), *Dec*^r., 10^r., *Jan*, *Jan* : (3). *Mar*, *Mar*., *Mar* : , *Mar* :

1690.—*Mar* : (2), *Mar* : *Apr*., *Apr* : (4), *Apr*., *Apr* : (3). *May*, *May* : (3). Pl. III, 8.

SHILLING, Small.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated head of the King to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J690. Two sceptres in saltire through a crown, above which is XII., beneath is the month of issue, and on either side *S R*. Edge grained. Weight, 66–104 grains. Pl. III, 10.

Of this issue we find nineteen varieties, and gold and silver proofs occur dated May and June, 1690.¹

1690.—*Apr* (2), one has cinquefoils on the *obverse*. Pl. III, 9. *May* (5), *May*. (3), one reads GRATA, *May*, MAY with cinquefoils on the *obverse*. *June* (2), *June*. (2) *July*, *Aug*^t., *Sep* : .

HALFCROWN, Small.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated head of the King to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J690. Two sceptres in saltire through a crown, above which is XXX, beneath is the month of issue, and on either side *S R*. Edge milled with a leaf pattern. Weight, 105–177 grains. Pl. III, 11.

Twenty-four varieties exist of the above, whilst there are proofs, in gold and silver, of the month of May.¹

1690.—*Apr* : *May* (5), *May*. (7), *May* (2). Pl. III, 12. One has cinquefoils on the *reverse*. *June*, *June*., *June*., *Jun*., *July* (2), *Aug* : , *Sep*^t : , *Oct* : Pl. III, 13.

¹ For explanation of the figures in brackets see p. 192.

CROWN.

Obverse.—IAC. II. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

Equestrian figure of King to left, holding drawn sword perpendicularly. A large sash floats from the King's waist, whilst the horse's tail is curved.

Reverse.—CHRIS | TO. VICT | ORE. TRI | VMPHO. Arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland arranged cruciformly around a crown ANO DÖM j6 90 in the angles. Edge milled with a leaf pattern. Weight, 243 grains. Pl. III, 14.

Proofs also occur in gold, silver and tin.

A variety reads RIX on the *obverse*, and CHRIS | TO. VICTO | RE. TRI | VMPHO on the *reverse*.

PATTERN CROWN.

Obverse.—IAC. II. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

Equestrian figure of King to left, holding a drawn sword slantwise, small sash floating on the wind. The horse's tail is straight, the letters of the legend are larger than on the previous coin.

Reverse.—CHRIS | TO. VICT | ORE. TRI | VMPHO. Arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland arranged cruciformly around a crown, ANO DÖM j6 90 in the angles. Edge milled with a leaf pattern. Weight, 201 grains. *Nelson Collection*. Pl. III, 15.

PROOFS.

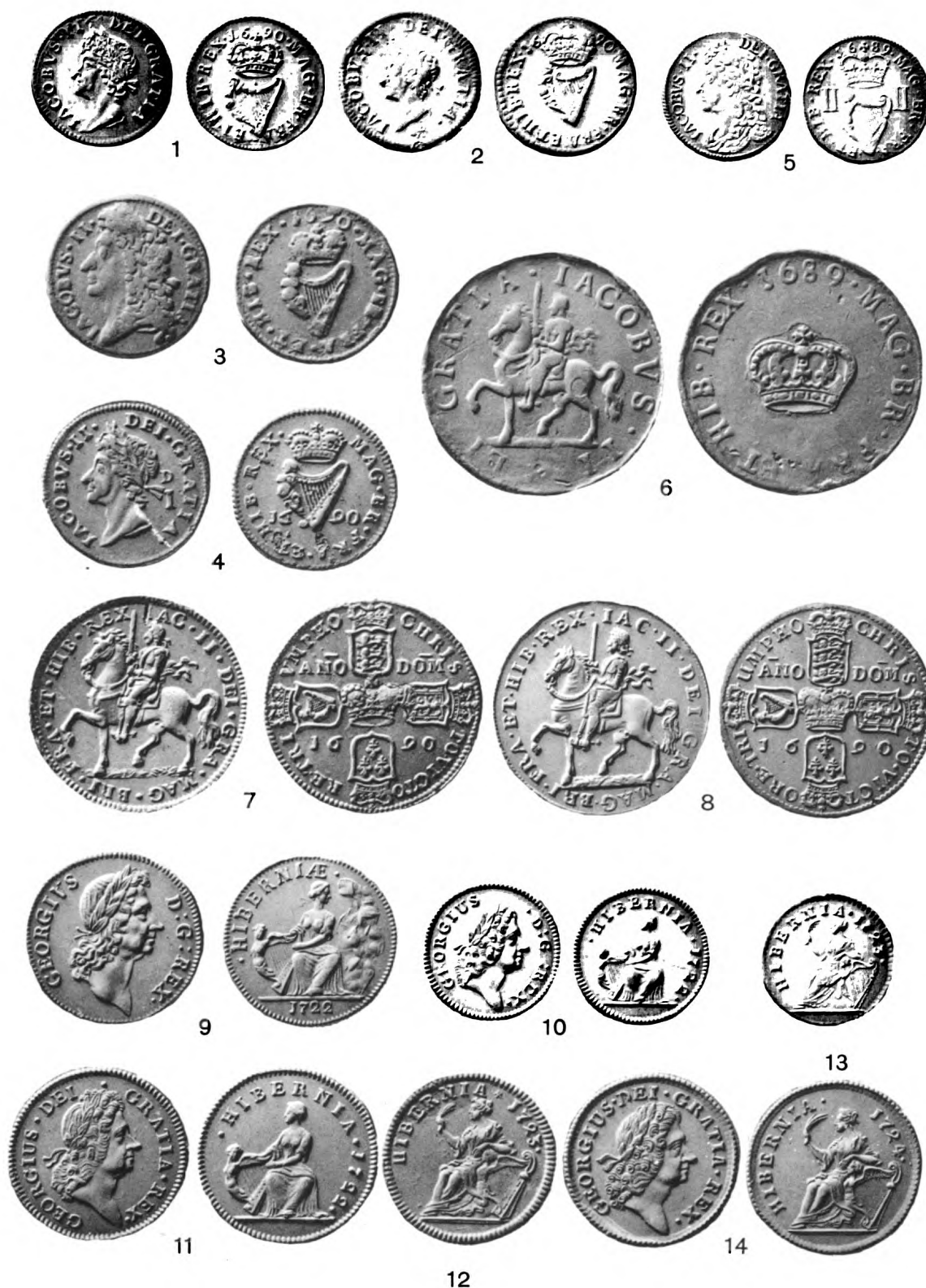
			VI.	XII.	XXX.	Crown.
June	...	...		
July	...	...	Æ	Æ		
August	...	...	Æ	Æ	Æ	
September	...	...	Æ	Æ	Æ	
October	...	...		
November	...	...			Æ	
December	...	...		
January	...	...	Æ	Æ	Æ	
February	...	...	Æ . Æ	Æ	Æ	
March	...	...		Æ	Æ	
			1690.			
March	...	...		Æ . Æ	Æ	

O 2

			VI.	XII.	XXX.	Crown.
April	...	...		<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>	<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>	
May	...	...		
				Small.		
April	...	...			<i>N</i> . <i>Æ</i> . Sn.	{ Plain edge, and lettered edge.
May	...	...	<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>	<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>	and <i>R</i>	
June	...	...	<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>	<i>N</i> . <i>R</i>		
July	...	...		
August	...	...		
September	...	...		
October	...	...		

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF DIES IN USE.

	Month.	Sixpence.	Large XII.	Large XXX.	Small XII.	Small XXX.	Total.
1689—	June	...	4	...	...	...	4
	July	...	6	5	3	...	14
	August	...	7	11	5	...	23
	September	...	4	8	9	...	21
	7 ber	...	1	...	...	...	1
	October	...	1	9	5	...	15
	8 ber	...	...	4	2	...	6
	November...	...	3	7	5	...	15
	9 ...	...	...	3	...	...	3
	9 ^r with castle	...	...	1	...	...	1
	December...	...	4	6	5	...	15
	10 ^r...	...	...	2	1	...	3
	January	...	7	6	4	...	17
	February	...	4	6	5	...	15
	March	...	1	2	4	...	7
1690—	March	...	1	4	3	...	8
	April	...	2	4	9	2	18
	May	...	2	...	4	10	30
	June	...	1	...	...	4	9
	July	...	...	...	...	1	2
	August	...	...	...	...	1	2
	September	...	...	...	...	1	2
	October	...	1	...	...	...	2
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		49	78	64	19	24	234
		—	—	—	—	—	—



COPPER COINAGE OF IRELAND

PI. IV.

CROWN.

White Metal, with plug of Prince's Metal.

Obverse.—IAC. II DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.
Equestrian figure of the King riding to the left, with drawn sword, scarf floating behind.

Reverse.—CHRIS | TO. VICTO | RE. TRI | VMPHO. Arms of England, Ireland, France and Scotland arranged cruciformly, a crown in the centre. In the upper angles ANO DOM; in the lower angles J6 90. Edge inscribed MELIORIS · TESSERA · FATI · ANNO · REGNI · SEXTO · Weight, 283 grains. Pl. IV, 7.

Proofs of this crown exist in gold and silver with inscribed edge, in silver and tin with plain edge, also in white metal with inscribed edge.

PATTERN CROWN.

Silver.

Obverse and *reverse* somewhat similar to the preceding coin but upon the *reverse* it reads TRIUMPHO. It occurs in silver and copper with plain edge, also in silver inscribed MLIORIS¹ · TESSERA · FATI · with a pellet between two foliate ornaments at the end of the legend. Pl. IV, 8.

A specimen in copper occurs in the Hoblyn collection with plain edge.

PATTERN CROWN.

Pewter with plugs of Prince's Metal.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Equestrian figure of the King proceeding to the left carrying a drawn sword, with floating scarf behind.

Reverse.—J689. MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. A crown enclosed by the legend.

This coin is plugged with Prince's metal in two places on the obverse and one on the reverse. That in the British Museum, weighing 346 grains, is from the *Barré Charles Roberts cabinet*, whilst another was recently discovered by Mr. W. T. Ready. Pl. IV, 6.

¹ *sic*, the E being omitted.

GROAT.

Mixed Metal. (Pewter.)

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Draped and laureated bust of the King to the left, from the die of the gun-money sixpence.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J689. A crowned harp, on either side of which is II. Edge grained. Weight, 52 grains. Of extreme rarity. *Hoblyn Cabinet.* Pl. IV, 5.

PENNY.

Pewter.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated bust of the King to left as on the large gun-money shilling.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J689. A harp beneath a crown. Edge grained. Weight, 130 grains. Probably unique.

This piece is also dated 1690. Pl. IV, 3.

HALFPENNY.

Pewter.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Small laureated head of the King with short hair to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J689, around a crowned harp. Edge grained. Weight, 72 grains. Very rare.

This coin is also found dated 1690. A silver proof occurs of the year 1690, some specimens of which are found struck over Louis d'argents. Pl. IV, 1.

PENNY.

Pewter.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Small laureated head of the King with short hair to left, I^p behind the head.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX., enclosing a harp beneath a crown, the date is divided by the foot of the harp, J6—90. Edge grained. Weight, 95 grains. Pl. IV, 4.

HALFPENNIES.

Pewter.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA., surrounding laureated head of the King with short hair to left, beneath which is a floral ornament.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J690, around a harp, beneath a crown which divides the date. Edge grained. Weight, 72 grains. Pl. IV, 2.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA., surrounding equestrian figure of the King.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J689. A crown surmounting two sceptres in saltire, above a harp, to the left of which is HALF, to the right, PENY. Edge grained.

This piece is plugged with Prince's metal. It is recorded, but is not now known to exist.

Brass.

Obverse.—IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA. Laureated and draped bust of the King to left.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. J69J. Seated figure of Hibernia facing to the left and in her right hand a trefoil. Edge grained. Weight, 102 grains.

FARTHING.

Brass.

Obverse and *Reverse* similar to the previous coin. On some, however, the N on the *Reverse* is not inverted. Edge grained. Weight, 82 grains. Pl. III, 16.

Both the two last described coins were re-struck respectively over the large and small shillings, and were minted at Limerick for currency during the siege of that place.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689–1694.

As previously mentioned one of the early Acts of this reign was the reduction in value of the various gun-money coins of James II.

and very shortly afterwards these coins were demonetized. The only pieces issued in Ireland during the reign of these monarchs were halfpence, which may be thus described:—

HALFPENNY.

Copper.

Obverse.—GVLIELMVS. ET. MARIA. DEI. GRATIA. Jugate heads of the King and Queen, that only of the King is laureated, the necks undraped.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FR. ET. HIB. REX. ET. REGINA., surrounding the harp surmounted by a crown dividing the date thus J6–92. Edge grained. Weight, 125 grains. Pl. II, 20.

This coin, of which no proofs exist, is found dated 1692, 1693, and 1694. It has been asserted that the dates 1690 and 1691 exist; but this is extremely doubtful. The issue appears to have been frequently *cast* and not struck, but examples occur which seem to be struck on *cast flans*.

WILLIAM III. 1694–1702.

The coins of William III. are almost identical with those of the preceding reign, save that the portrait of Mary is omitted.

The issue consists of halfpence, of which several varieties occur.

HALFPENNIES.

Copper.

No. 1. *Obverse.*—GVLIELMVS. III. DEI. GRA. Laureated bust of the King in armour to left.

Reverse.—MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. J695. A harp, above which is a crown dividing the date J6–95¹. Edge grained. Weight, 103 grains. Pl. II, 22.

This coin is also found dated 1696; and of this year a proof occurs in silver (sometimes gilt) reading on the *reverse* MAG. BRI. for MAG. BR. which is also known in copper.

¹ This date is questioned.

- No. 2. *Obverse* and *Reverse* somewhat similar to No. 1, but reading GULIELMVS. III. DEI. GRATIA and the King's bust is undraped, date 1696. Edge grained. Weight, 105 grains. Pl. II, 21.

ANNE. 1702-1714.

During the reign of this Queen no coins for Ireland were struck.

GEORGE I. 1714-1727.

THE COINAGE OF WILLIAM WOOD.

William Wood was born July 31st, 1671, and resided at the Deanery, Wolverhampton, during the period 1692-1713. Previous to his venture in the sphere of coinage he must have been a person of good financial status, as we are told that he was the proprietor of iron and copper mines in the west of England, and leased mining rights in thirty-nine counties in England and Wales.

In 1722 the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, received from Lord Sunderland a patent for the right of coining copper money for Ireland, which she sold to Wood for £10,000. The charter, which was from George I. to William Wood, was dated June the 16th, 1722, and presented the following points. It was for the term of fourteen years, and conferred the privilege of coining halfpence and farthings for Ireland, the total weight of which was not to exceed three hundred and sixty tons, and thirty pence were to be coined from one pound avoirdupois. One hundred tons were to be coined during the first year, and twenty tons during each of the succeeding years. Wood was to pay an annual rent of £800 to the King, and £200 to the clerk-comptroller. The patent was passed by the English Parliament on July 22nd, 1722, without reference to the Lord Lieutenant or to the Irish Privy Council.

The value of 360 tons of copper at this time was £43,680, and when coined at the rate of thirty pence to the pound, it amounted to the sum of £108,000.

The then cost of coining 360 tons of copper was as follows:—

	£
Value of 360 tons of copper at 13 <i>d.</i> per lb. ...	43,680
Making into bars at 5 <i>d.</i> per lb. ...	16,800
Cost of striking coins at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. ...	13,940
Rent to the Crown ...	14,000
Cost of patent ...	10,000
Total ...	<u>£98,420</u>

At the English Royal mint in 1722 one pound of copper was struck into forty-six *halfpence*, and thus 360 tons would produce about £77,280, i.e., £30,720 less than was provided by the patent for the coinage for Ireland.

The table beneath gives the weights of specimens taken from parcels forwarded to Ireland for distribution, a number being selected from each parcel and after being weighed were divided into groups.

TABLE SHOWING TEST WEIGHTS.

The different lots.	Weight of Halfpenny.	Number in 1 lb.	Current value of 1 lb. in 1722.		
			Pence.	Half-Pence.	Dec.
First sort ...	Grs. 120	58·33	29	—	·33
Second sort ...	111	63·06	31	1	·06
Third sort ...	103	67·96	33	1	·96
Fourth sort ...	96	72·91	36	—	·91
The average ...	107·5	65·11	32	1	·11

TABLE SHOWING THE INTRINSIC AND CURRENT VALUES.

	Quantity coined.	Cost coined.	Current value.		Loss to Public.	
	tons.	£	£	s.	£	s.
If as patent provided ...	360	74,420	108,000	0	33,580	0
If first sort coined ...	"	"	97,994	8	23,574	8
If second sort coined ...	"	"	105,940	16	31,520	16
If third sort coined ...	"	"	114,172	16	39,752	16
If fourth sort coined ...	"	"	122,488	16	48,068	16
If average coined ...	360	74,420	110,149	4	35,729	4

It would appear that Wood, realizing the small sum in proportion to his outlay to be earned by strictly adhering to the terms of the patent, reduced the weight of the coins, hoping by this means to increase the profits of the undertaking.

The coining of these pieces began in January, 1722-23, the mint being in Phoenix Street, Brown's Gardens, Seven Dials, London. They were from here carried to Bristol by waggon, where they were shipped to various Irish ports, Dublin being the main centre of their distribution.

A memorial of William Wood appears in the Treasury Papers praying for a licence to coin "copper money for Ireland at the city of Bristol," and a minute remains dated August 3rd, 1722, appointing Sir Isaac Newton comptroller of the coinage. The Treasury gave Wood power to coin a certain quantity of copper money at Bristol and the treasury warrant authorising Wood to establish his office for coining at or near Bristol exists of the date August 31st, 1723.

The dies were engraved by the following artists:—Lammas, Harold and Standbroke, who were probably also the engravers of Wood's American issues.

Coins of the years 1722 and 1723 were issued in Ireland to the amount of £14,566, of which £1,086 was represented by farthings. The coins of 1722, however, did not attain any large circulation and were probably issued as patterns.

Wood's coinage was unpopular, and this may have been owing to the secrecy surrounding the issue. The Irish nation never having been consulted and its interests but little regarded, we are not surprised to find that both Irish Houses of Parliament petitioned the King upon this matter, and in this they were joined, September 13th, 1723, by the Lords Justices, the Council, and the Grand Juries of the city and county of Dublin.

Wood having been described in the press "as guilty of a most notorious fraud in his coinage," unwisely permitted himself to be drawn into a reply, which appeared on October 8th, 1723, in *The Flying Post*, and in which he said "that he would cram his brass down their throats in spite of them."

Subsequently to this, there was printed the first of a series of seven letters, the writer being the famous Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, and as they were signed M. B. Drapier, were known as Drapier's Letters. The first letter was published in April, 1724, and was succeeded at short intervals by the others. The writer, regardless of veracity and for political reasons, entirely misrepresented the facts of the case, and by this means the prospect of a successful future for the coinage was fatally prejudiced. In 1724, Wood reduced the issue to £40,000 and limited the tender to fivepence-halfpenny, but in the following year, 1725, he resigned the patent in return for a pension of £3,000 per annum for eight years upon the establishment of Ireland.

The following extract from a letter written by Sir Robert Walpole to Lord Townsend records this commutation :—

"(London, October 12–21, 1725.)

"His majesty, before he left England, signed a warrant for granting a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum, on the establishment of Ireland, to Thomas Uvedale, esq. which was to him in trust for Mr. Wood for the surrender of his patent. That warrant is still in my hands, and is not to be given out till all difficulties in the parliament of Ireland are over. Mr. Wood has now been with

me, to desire that the pension of 3,000*l.* per annum to Mr. Uvedale, may be turned into three pensions of 1,000*l.* per annum, for the same number of years, which he desires, for the greater conveniency of disposing of it to the best advantage, finding it very difficult, and almost impracticable to part with the whole in one sum, which being divided into three parts, may be easily had. I therefore send your lordship three warrants of 1,000*l.* per annum, each for eight years, which I desire your lordship will present to his majesty to be signed ; and upon the return of them, I will cancel the former warrants, and keep these in my custody, until it shall be proper to give them out."

Of April 10th, 1724, there is a letter from the Treasury to Sir Isaac Newton directing him to send a competent person to Bristol to assay the fineness of Wood's halfpence.

Notwithstanding the outcry raised against this issue, the report of Sir Isaac Newton, the Master of the Royal Mint, proves these coins to have been very admirable pieces and superior to any copper money previously coined for use in Ireland, their only fault being the difference in weight between the various examples. The following announcement will serve to show the feeling in Ireland at this time in regard to these pieces.

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas I, Thomas Handy, of Meath Street, Dublin, did receive by the last packet from a person in London, to whom I am an entire stranger, bills of lading for eleven casks of Wood's halfpence, shipped at Bristol, and consigned to me by the said person on his own proper account, of which I had not the least notice until I received the said Bills of lading.

"Now I, the said Thomas Handy, being highly sensible of the duty and regard which every honest man owes to his country and to his fellow-subjects, do hereby declare, that I will not be concerned, directly or indirectly, in entering, landing, importing, receiving, or uttering any of the said Wood's halfpence, for that I am fully convinced, as well from the addresses of both houses of parliament as otherwise, that the importing and uttering the said halfpence will be destructive to this nation, and prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue.

"And of this my resolution I gave notice by letter to the person who sent me the bills of lading, the very day I received them, and have sent back the said bills to him,

Tho. Handy.

"Dublin, 29th August, 1724."

The *London Post* for January 14th, 1723, records the following—

“William Wood, of Wolverhampton, Esq., having a patent for fourteen years for coining farthings and halfpence for Ireland, and halfpence, pence and twopences for all His Majesty’s dominions in America, hath erected a building in Phoenix Street, Brown’s Gardens, near the Seven Dials, for the American coinage, and another in the city of Bristol for Irish coinage.”

Wood no doubt selected Bristol as his place of mintage because at that period the city was the centre of the English brass trade, and possessed the largest copper smelting works in the kingdom.

The same journal, *The London Post*, January 18th, 1723, gives the further information, which also appears in the *St. James’s Journal* for January 19th:—“Wood began his coinage for Ireland on Monday last near the Seven Dials.”

William Wood died in London, August 2nd, 1730, and thus only enjoyed his Irish pension for five years. His wife was Mary Molyneaux, of Witton Hall, Staffordshire.

In describing the coins struck by William Wood I have endeavoured to place them in their chronological sequence.

HALFPENNY, 1722.

No. 1 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS. D : G : REX. Laureated head of the King to right, neck disproportionately long.

Reverse.—· HIBERNIÆ. Figure of Hibernia seated looking to right at a mass of rock, and holding in front a harp, in exergue J722. Weight, 121 grains. Pl. IV, 9.

It is probable that the engraver of the dies for this coin also engraved the dies for the following and for the pattern farthings and halfpence of 1724.

FARTHING, 1722.

No. 2 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. D : G : REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—· HIBERNIA. J722. Hibernia seated to left, holding and playing a harp before her. Weight, 60 grains. Pl. IV, 10.



COPPER COINAGE OF IRELAND

PI. V.

HALFPENNY, 1722.

No. 3 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1722. Hibernia seated to left, holding a harp before her upon which she plays. Weight, 133 grains. Pl. IV, 11.

Proofs occur in copper and silver. *Nelson Collection.*

The next piece was no doubt the design which gave the greatest satisfaction, for with the omission of a dot we find that the reverse was repeated in 1723 and again in 1724. This coin on account of its rarity may be considered a pattern and also because of a dot before, as well as after HIBERNIA, which occurs on the patterns of 1722, but on no subsequent issue except the pattern halfpenny of 1723.

HALFPENNY, 1722.

No. 4 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1722. Hibernia seated with harp by her side, upon which she rests her left hand, whilst in her right she holds a palm-branch. Weight, 111 grains.

Proofs exist in copper.

Subsequently to this would appear a similar coin dated 1723.

HALFPENNY, 1723.

No. 5 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1723. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding a palm-branch in her right hand. Weight, 120 grains.

On some examples the date 1723 is overstruck on 1722.

Proofs occur in silver and copper.

The next piece of the year 1723 is a farthing, having the same obverse as the pattern farthing of the year 1722.

FARTHING, 1723.

No. 6 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . D : G : REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1723. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 61 grains. Pl. IV, 10, 13.

This would be followed by the usual type of farthing with the obverse legend in full, and at the same time would be struck the corresponding halfpenny.

FARTHING, 1723.

No. 7.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1723. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 63 grains. Pl. IV, 13.

Proofs are found in copper and in silver.

HALFPENNY, 1723.

No. 8.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1723. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 113 grains.

Subsequently a pattern with a star on the reverse would be struck but as we do not find this repeated, it was probably not accepted for currency.

HALFPENNY, 1723.

No. 9.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA ★ 1723. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 110 grains. Pl. IV, 12.

For 1724, the last year of the coinage, the ordinary issue is similar to that of 1723.

FARTHING, 1724.

No. 10.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1724. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 56 grains.

HALFPENNY, 1724.

No. 11.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX. Laureated head of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. 1724. Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. Weight, 118 grains. Pl. IV, 14.

A proof of this exists in silver. *Nelson Collection*.

Specimens of Nos. 10 and 11 occur in which the dot after the date is omitted.

Of the year 1724, we also find the following patterns:—

FARTHING, 1724.

No. 12 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . D : GRA . REX. Laureated bust of the King to right, with hair curling beneath the neck.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. Seated figure of Hibernia to left, leaning on a harp, holding a palm-branch in her right hand ; date in exergue, 1724. Weight, 78 grains. Pl. V, 4.

A proof of this exists in silver and also in copper. *Nelson Collection*.

HALFPENNY, 1724.

No. 13 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS. DEI. GRATIA. REX. Fine laureated head of the King to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. Seated figure of Hibernia to left leaning on a harp, holding a palm-branch in her right hand ; date in exergue, 1724. Weight, 128 grains. Pl. V, 1.

Proofs occur in copper of this piece, which is found struck from the same obverse die as No. 15.

F

FARTHING, 1724.

No. 14 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS D : GRA . REX . Laureated head of the King to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—REGIT • UNUS • UTROQUE J724, surrounding crossed trident and sceptre, united by a triple knot. Weight 79 grains. Pl. V, 3.

Proofs exist in copper.

HALFPENNY, 1724.

No. 15 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX . Fine laureated head of the king to right with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—REGIT • VNVS • VTROQVE • J724 • surrounding crossed sceptre and a trident united by a triple knot. Weight 136 grains. Pl. V, 2.

Proofs exist in copper.

HALFPENNY, 1724.

No. 16 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX . Laureated bust of the King to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA • J724. Seated figure of Hibernia, leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm branch. The legend begins and ends about the level of the harp.

This coin, which is struck in a whitish metal, is of considerable rarity. Weight, 110 grains.

The design of the reverses of the two pieces described as Nos. 14 and 16 was borrowed from a jetton of Charles I., the work of Nicholas Briot, viz. :—



A JETTON OF CHARLES I. BY BRIOT.

Obverse.—CAROLVS . D . G . ANG . SCO . FRAN . ET . HIB . REX
FIDEI . DEF. Shield of Britain, beneath a crown, within the
collar and badge of the Thistle, all contained by the Garter.

Reverse.—REGIT • VNVS • VTROQVE • Crossed trident and sceptre
united by a triple knot ; in exergue, J628. Weight, 80 grains.

A mule exists formed by using the reverse dies of the pattern
farthings of 1724.

FARTHING, 1724.

No. 17 Pattern.

Obverse.—HIBERNIA. Hibernia seated to left, leaning on a harp
holding a palm-branch in her right hand, in exergue, J724.

Reverse.—REGIT • UNUS • UTROQUE J724. Crossed trident and
sceptre united by a triple knot. Weight, 76 grains.
Pl. V, 3, 4.

FARTHING.

No. 18 Pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS • DEI : GRA. Fine laureated head of the King
to right with curling hair.

Reverse.—Female figure seated to left, holding in her outstretched right
hand a large orb, her left arm supports a sceptre and rests
upon a shield which bears the rose and thistle ; behind
the shield is a harp. No date. Weight, 76 grains. Pl. V, 3A.

In the Supplement to Simon's *Coinage of Ireland*, p. 6, Snelling
describes a halfpenny in which Hibernia points to a sun in the upper
part of the field ; this may have been a worn example of the above
coin.

GEORGE II. 1727-1760.

In the year 1736, pieces of the value of halfpence and
farthings were struck in London at the Tower, and forwarded to
Dublin for use in Ireland. They were of standard copper, well
struck and of good design. The amount of such coins issued to
January, 1739, was fifty tons, from 1741 to 1749 one hundred tons,

and from 1750–1753 thirty-nine tons four cwts., of which fifty-two halfpence were made from a pound of copper, and of the total, five-sixths consisted of halfpence, the remainder of farthings; the legal tender being limited to sixpence.

HALFPENNY.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—GEORGIUS · II · REX. Youthful laureated head of the king to left with short hair.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp above which is a crown and beneath is the date 1736. Edge plain. Weight, 134 grains. Pl. V, 5.

The various dates are 1736, 1737, 1738, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745 and 1746. Proofs exist of 1736 both in copper and silver.

FARTHING.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—Obverse and reverse as the halfpenny. Edge plain. Weight, 68 grains.

These occur of the years 1737, 1738, and 1744, and of the first date there are proofs both in silver and copper.

HALFPENNIES.

No. 3. *Obverse*.—GEORGIUS II. REX. A somewhat elderly head of the king laureated to left with hair curling beneath the truncation of the neck.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp surmounted by a crown, the date 1742 beneath. Edge plain. Weight 133 grains. *Hoblyn Cabinet*. Pl. V, 8.

Both the *Obverse* and *Reverse* show numerous flaw marks, which may account for the great rarity of the piece, as the dies probably broke after but few examples had been struck.

No. 4. *Obverse*.—GEORGIUS. II. REX. Elderly head of the king laureated to left.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp beneath a crown with the date below. Edge plain. Weight, 135 grains. Pl. V, 6.

The dates are 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753 and 1755.

No. 5. *Obverse*.—GEORGIUS . II . REX. Old laureated head of the king to left.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp beneath a crown with the date 1760 below. Edge plain. Weight 136 grains. Pl. V, 7.

FARTHING.

Obverse and Reverse.—Similar to the previous coin and also dated 1760. Edge plain. Weight 68 grains.

The issue of these coins was continued until April, 1762, and fifty tons was the quantity coined.

THE "VOCE POPULI" COINAGE, 1760.

The coins known as the Voce Populi pieces were struck in the year 1760, doubtless subsequently to the death of George II. They were prepared by one Roche, of King Street Dublin, who was at that period engaged in the manufacture of buttons for the Army, for which he held a contract from the home Government. These pieces bear upon the *obverse* the laureated bust of a man aged about forty years, and on some examples the letter P occurs. It has been suggested that these coins were perhaps intended to represent Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender, the initial P being in that case used for *Princeps*; and the issue would thus act as a counterblast to the claims of George III. to the crown of England, and fan into life the dying embers of the Stuart cause.

The real explanation of the mystery seems, however, to be given us in pamphlet No. 428 in the Harleian Library, where the following interesting statement appears:—

"The Irish halfpence, Voce Populi, 1760, were struck in two different dies, in consequence of the delay they suffered in the receipt of a coinage from England, the head is that of Hely Hutchinson afterwards Provost of Dublin College, &c., &c.,"

Is it possible that the letter P may indicate Provost? The date of his appointment as Provost should almost solve the problem.

The coinage consists of halfpence, of which there are some twelve distinct varieties, together with farthings of two varieties and of rather superior execution.

Mr. Hoblyn has arranged these pieces in five types comprising twelve varieties in all for the halfpenny, and two varieties for the farthing. All are dated 1760.

HALFPENNIES.

TYPE I.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—VOCE • POPULI. Youthful bust, well executed, to right, a rosette between the words.

Reverse.—HIBER NIA + + 1760. Seated figure of Hibernia, to left, with spear and harp.¹ Pl. VI, 1.

This piece, as regards the portrait, resembles the farthing, and has been hitherto unpublished. *Hoblyn and Nelson Cabinets.*

TYPE II.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—Portrait differs: a rosette between the words.

Reverse.—Similar to No. 1.² Pl. V, 9.

This piece is of somewhat rough execution, and is apparently cast.

No. 3. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. Portrait nearly similar to No. 2, but legend often blundered thus, VOOE.

Reverse.—HIBE RNIA · As before.³ Pl. V, 11.

Proofs exist of this coin, which is neatly executed, and usually struck, but also sometimes cast.

TYPE III.

No. 4. *Obverse*.—VOCE + POPULI. Singular portrait, not resembling the preceding.

Reverse.—HIBER NIA + + 1760.⁴ Pl. VI, 2.

Examples of this occur both struck and cast. A variety has points on each side of Hibernia instead of the two crosses.

¹ Two annulets on harp, eight strings.

² Flower and annulet on harp, eight strings.

³ Annulet and dot on harp, eight strings.

⁴ Two annulets on harp, eight strings.

- No. 5. *Obverse*.—As No. 2.
Reverse.—As No. 4.¹ Pl. V, 9; VI, 2.

TYPE IV.

- No. 6. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. An older portrait.
Reverse.—HIBE RNIA · J760.² Pl. V, 10.

I have only seen cast specimens of this coin. It is rare.

- No. 7. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. Portrait nearly similar to No. 5.
Reverse.—HIBE RNIA + + J760.³ Pl. V, 12.

A variety has the appearance of having been struck over another coin.

- No. 8. *Obverse*.—VOCE • POPULI. Same portrait as last, a rosette between the words.
Reverse.—HIBE RNIA · J760.⁴ Pl. V, 13.

This type is very circular. It occurs both struck and cast.

- No. 9. *Obverse*.—VOCE • POPULI. Portrait differs in small detail, rosette as before.
Reverse.—HIBER NIA + + J760.⁵ Pl. V, 14.

These occur with a full border, on large flans, and on small thick flans, and are both struck and cast.

TYPE V.

- No. 10. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. A very peculiar long-headed bust, heavily laureated, and badly struck.
Reverse.—HIBER NIA • • Rosettes large, J760.⁶ *Hoblyn Cabinet*. Pl. VI, 3.

This type is apparently unpublished.

- No. 11. *Obverse*.—VOCE · POPULI. Same portrait, but P under bust.
Reverse.—HIBER NIA • • Rosettes large, J760.⁷ Pl. VI, 4.

¹ Two annulets on harp, eight strings.

² Marks on harp indistinct, eight strings.

³ Two annulets on harp, nine strings.

⁴ Flower and dot on harp, seven strings.

⁵ Flower and annulet on harp, eight strings.

⁶ Annulets on harp, six strings.

⁷ Two annulets on harp, six strings.

This is a common type, and is of poor work. A specimen in the cabinet of Mr. Lionel Fletcher has the P further back under the bust; and the portrait more like that on Type II., No. 2, Fig. 3.



FIG. 3.

No. 12. *Obverse*.—VOCE · POPULI. Same portrait, but P in front of face.
Reverse.—HIBER NIA •• Rosettes large, 1760.¹ Pl. VI, 5.

It has been stated that there is a further type of the above character, with P on the *reverse*; but such a coin has not been traceable in any collection, public or private.

There are roughly *five* quite distinct portraits upon these half-pennies, viz. :—(1) No. 1, (2) Nos. 2 and 3, (3) No. 4, (4) Nos. 5 to 9, (5) Nos. 10 to 12.

The harp, which is variously ornamented with annulets or rosettes, and sometimes pellets, has 6, 7, 8 or 9 strings. The weights vary from 102 to 136 grains.

A considerable controversy arose between the late Dr. Aquilla Smith and Dr. Clay, of Manchester, as to the letter P on these coins, and other points; in regard to which the reader is referred to the *Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society*, 1866 (Part III., p. 54), and to the *Journal of the Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland* (No. 7, July, 1869). The reference to halfpennies with the inscription VOX POPULI is, in Mr. Hoblyn's opinion, mythical. See also *Pinkerton's Essay on Medals*, 1789, Vol. II., p. 127; and *Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Ireland*, 1839, p. 139; and, finally, the article communicated, in 1862, to the Numismatic Society of London by the late Rev. Henry Christmas, entitled "Irish Coins of Copper and Billon."

¹ Annulet and dot on harp, six strings.

FARTHING.

No. 1. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. Youthful bust, well executed, and very similar to the halfpenny, Type I.

Reverse.—HIBER NIA J760. Seated figure of Hibernia to left, with spear and harp.¹ Pl. V, 16.

This coin is very rare, and there are proofs of it.

No. 2. *Obverse*.—VOCE POPULI. Portrait very similar, but from a different die.

Reverse.—HIBER NIA 1760. As before.¹ Pl. V, 15.

Mr. Christmas alludes to two types; and this latter is excessively rare. The only specimen with which I was acquainted was in the Marsham and Caldecott collections, and is now in the Hoblyn cabinet. Another example has however recently been discovered.

GEORGE III., 1760–1820.

In 1760, George III. succeeded his grandfather on the throne of England; and, six years subsequently, *i.e.*, in 1766, issued his first coins, viz., halfpence, for Ireland. These pieces present to our view a weak-looking portrait of the king and were issued in this year and in 1769, to the amount of one hundred tons, *i.e.*, fifty tons for each date. For the cost of their coining the Mint Master received five pence for each pound of metal struck, which he proportioned thus:—to the moneyers for striking, two pence, for barrelling, seven-eighths of a penny; to the die-forger, one farthing; and a similar sum to the engraver; whilst to his deputy he gave the sum of one pound sterling per ton.

HALFPENNIES.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS. III. REX. Youthful head of the king, laureated to right, the portrait being weak in expression.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp, above which is a crown, and beneath, the date J766 or J769. Edge plain. Weight 125 grains. Pl. VI, 6.

Of the year 1769 we also find another halfpenny of finer execution on which the king is represented by a much better

¹ Annulet on harp, six strings.

portrait. This coin from its comparative rarity may be regarded as a pattern.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS. III. REX. Laureated head of the king to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp surmounted by a crown, date 1769 beneath. Edge plain. Weight 134 grains. Pl. VI, 7.

In the year 1773 a pattern for a halfpenny was struck.

PATTERN 1773.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS. III. REX. Laureated head of the king to right with curls on neck and beneath the truncation.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp above which is a crown and beneath is the date 1773. Weight 135 grains. Pl. VI, 8.

HALFPENNY, 1774.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS III. REX. Laureated bust of the king to right, with hair tied behind and falling in curls beneath the neck.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp beneath a crown and below the date 1774. Weight 134 grains. Pl. VI, 9.

The coin of this date is very rare, and has been regarded as a pattern. *Hoblyn Collection*.

The dates are 1774, 1775, 1776, 1781, 1782 and 1783, and proofs are known in copper of the years 1775 and 1782.

PATTERN PENNY, 1789.

In 1789, Mossop, a jeweller in Dublin and a die-sinker of very considerable merit, prepared a pattern penny, of which only six examples are said to have been struck, and two of them were presented to George III. Its rarity is due to the fact that the die for the reverse broke.

"During the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham he produced a pattern piece, which he denominated the Union Penny, engraved after a design by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Only six impressions were struck before the die was destroyed, but so admirable was the execution, that two were thought worthy of a place in the cabinet of the reigning monarch."¹

¹ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XIX, "A Memoir of the Medals and Medalists connected with Ireland," by the Very Rev. Henry Richard Dawson, A.M., Dean of St. Patrick's. Read 16th March, 1838, p. 16. (William Stephen Mossop, the elder.)

One example shows the flaw in an early state. *Nelson Collection.*

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III REX. Head of the king with short hair to right; beneath is a harp.

Reverse.—CONCORDIA. Two emblematical figures of Britannia on the right and Hibernia on the left of a flaming altar, over which they are joining hands, whilst beneath are two cornucopiæ. Hibernia holds a harp, whilst Britannia supports a spear and shield. Behind the figure of Britannia is the British lion. Edge *engrailed* vertically. Weight 392 grains. This is in black bronze. Pl. VI, 10. *Nelson Collection.*

A rough proof of this coin exists in copper in an unfinished state, in which the harp beneath the bust on the obverse is wanting; it is struck off the centre of the flan.

PATTERN HALFPENNY, 1805.

In 1805 appeared a pattern halfpenny which, like the current coins of the same year, was the work of Kuchler and was struck at Boulton and Watt's Mint, Soho, Birmingham.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III. D: G. REX. Large laureated and draped bust of the king to right with flowing curls.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A large harp beneath a crown, below is the date 1805. Edge grained diagonally. Weight 130 grains.

PENNY, 1805.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III. D: G. REX. Laureated and draped bust of the king to right with hair tied behind.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A harp above which is a crown, and beneath the date 1805. Edge grained diagonally. Weight 268 grains.

HALFPENNY, 1805.

Obverse and Reverse.—As the penny. Weight 134 grains. Pl. VI, 13.

Proofs of these coins are known as follows :—In gold, silver gilt, bronze, and bronze of the penny and halfpenny, both with plain and engrailed edges.

Of the year 1806 two farthings exist, one similar to the coins of 1805, and another, probably a pattern, in which the letters of the legend are much larger than those on the current coin. The edges of both these coins are engraved diagonally. Proofs of the farthing exist in gold, silver and bronze with plain and engrailed edges.

PATTERN PENNIES, 1813.

In 1813 Thomas Wyon prepared a die for the reverse of an Irish penny, which he united with the obverse dies of the two stiver piece of Ceylon, and the one stiver piece of Demerara respectively, thus making two patterns.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III. D. G. REX. A large laureated and draped bust of the king to right.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A small harp beneath a small crown, the date 1813 below. Edge engrailed diagonally. Weight 276 grains. Pl. VI, 12.

This coin is likewise known gilded. Six pieces only are said to have been struck.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS III. D. G. BRITANNIARUM. REX. Laureated and draped bust of king to right, beneath which is T. W below a rose.

Reverse.—Similar to the previous coin. Edge engrailed diagonally. Weight 275 grains. Pl. VI, 11.

This piece is also found gilt; and six specimens only exist.

GEORGE IV., 1820–1830.

In this reign were issued the last coins struck for Ireland, namely, in 1822–1823, of both of which years copper pieces exist. The Irish coinage was withdrawn from circulation in 1826, when, as previously remarked, the money for the United Kingdom and Ireland was assimilated.

PATTERN PENNY, 1822.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS IV D: G: REX. Laureated and draped bust of the king to left.



COPPER COINAGE OF IRELAND

PL. VI.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A small harp surmounted by a small crown ; and, beneath, the date 1822. Edge plain. Weight 265 grains. Pl. VI, 15.

Of this coin only six specimens were struck, and from the similarity of its reverse to that of the pattern penny of 1813, the design may be attributed to Thomas Wyon. The obverse dies of all the Irish coins of this reign were the work of B. Pistrucci, and, if this attribution be correct, the reverses were the work of Wyon.

PENNY, 1822.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS IV. D: G: REX. Laureated and draped bust of the king to left.

Reverse.—HIBERNIA. A large harp, above which is a large crown ; and, beneath, is the date 1822. Edge plain. Weight 266 grains.

HALFPENNY, 1822.

Obverse and Reverse.—As the penny. Edge plain. Weight 135 grains.

PATTERN FARTHING, 1822.

Obverse and Reverse.—As the penny. Edge plain. Weight 67 grains. Pl. VI, 14.

Six specimens only of this pattern are said to have been struck, examples being in the *Hoblyn* and *Nelson Collections*.

PENCE AND HALFPENCE, 1823.

During the following year, 1823, pence and halfpence, exactly similar to the current coins of 1822, were struck. Proofs occur in copper of the pence and halfpence of 1822 and 1823.

A CURIOUS PENNY.

A curious coin exists, the obverse die being that of the Irish penny of George IV., the reverse that of the coin of the same size of the Ionian Islands. Only three examples are known and these are in the Imperial Collection at Vienna, in the *Hoblyn Collection* and in the author's cabinet.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS . IV . D : G : REX. Laureated and draped bust of the king to left.

Reverse.—BRITANNIA. Seated figure of Britannia holding in her right hand a branch and in her left a trident. Edge plain.
Weight 260 grains.

On June 27, 1825, an Act was passed providing for the assimilation of the currency and monies of account throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the penny to pass current as $\frac{1}{13}$ of the English shilling. On January 13 following, English copper coins became current in Ireland by proclamation, and on July 12, a proclamation was issued declaring Irish copper coins to be no longer current within that kingdom. With this year the coinage of Ireland as distinct from that of England comes to an end.

In conclusion I cannot too gratefully acknowledge the assistance which I have so liberally and unsparingly received from Mr. Richard A. Hoblyn, F.S.A., and from Mr. Lionel Fletcher. Without this help I should have hesitated to attempt so lengthy a subject, for, incomplete as it may be, it would have been far more so if deprived of their knowledge and of the results of their study.

At the same time I desire to record my thanks to all those, too numerous to mention by name, who have at so much trouble to themselves so willingly communicated information relative to the Coinage of Ireland.

HISTORICAL RECORDS.

1460 A.D.

At a Parliament held at Drogheda before Richard Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant, it was enacted :

That the English noble of lawful weight shall pass in Ireland at the value of eight shillings and four pence, and half-noble at four shillings and two pence, the quadrant-d'or of the same coin and weight at two shillings and one penny. The gross [groat] of London, York and Calais, not clipped within the extreme circle, at five pence, the demy-gross at two pence half-penny, the denier at one penny farthing: the gross clipped at four pence, the demy-gross at two pence half-penny, the denier clipped at one penny. And as not only the duchy of Normandy but also the duchy of Guienne, when they were under the obedience of the realm of England, yet were no less separate from the laws and statutes of England, and had also coins for themselves different from the coin of England; so Ireland, though it be under the obedience of the same realm is nevertheless separate from it, and from all the laws and statutes of it, only such as are there by the lords spiritual and temporal and Commons freely admitted and accepted of in parliament or great council, by which a proper coin separate from the coin of England was with more convenience agreed to be had in Ireland under two forms; the one of the weight of half-quarter of an ounce troy weight, on which shall be imprinted on one side a lyon, and on the other side a crown, called an Irlandes d'argent, to pass for the value of one penny sterling; the other of vij. ob of troy weight, having imprinted on one part of it a crown, and on the other part a cross, called a Patrick, of which eight shall pass for one denier. That a gross be made of the weight of three deniers sterling, and to pass for four deniers sterling, which shall have imprinted on it on one side a crown, and on the other side a cross like the coin of Calais, bearing about the cross in writing the name of the place where the coin is made; and that every person, who brings bullion to the mint, ought to receive and have for every ounce of silver troy weight, nine of the said grosses of the value of three deniers. That the coin called the Jack be hereafter of no value

and void, and that the above coins be made in the castles of Dublin and Trymme [Trim]. This act to commence on St. Patrick's day.

1463 A.D.

At a Parliament held at Weys (Wexford) before Thomas Earl of Desmond, deputy to George Duke of Clarence, was passed :

An Act for confirming letters patent made to Germyn Lynch of London, goldsmith, for coining money, the substance of which letter patent is as follows:—viz., Edwardus &c., we have ordained Germyn Lynch of London, goldsmith, warden and master-worker of our moneys and coins within our castle of Dublin, and within our castle of Trymme, [Trim] and graver of the punsons [puncheons] of the said minie [money] and coins to occupy by himself or deputy during his life, giving him and them authority to make all our said moneys and coins, according to the tenor and effect of our statute or statutes by authority of a parliament holden at Drogheda before Richard late duke of Yorke then lord lieutenant, on the Friday after the feast of St. Blase the bishop, 38 Hen. VI. We give full power to the said Germyn Lynch and his deputy, during his life, to make all our said money and coins, and to do all things needful thereto within the town of Galway, that is, to make a piece of silver running at and of the value of four deniers, whereof one hundred and twenty shall go to the pound of troy, and to the ounce of the same, ten; whereof the master to answer us of one plate of every such pound so made for the coinage, and the merchant one hundred and fourteen plates, and the master to have the other five plates to his use. And also another piece of silver coine, of the value of two deniers, whereof two hundred and forty to go to the pound, or to the ounce of the same twenty, with proportionable allowance as before:—Also another piece of silver coin of the value of one denier, whereof four hundred and eighty go to the pound, and to the ounce of the same forty, with proportionable allowance as before, and that the ounce of every of the aforesaid money coined, shall be departed in like form after the said afferance and rate. Also eight pieces of brass running at and of the value of one penny of our said silver. That all the aforesaid moneys and coins of silver and brass shall be imprinted and bear scripture, and be of the weight, allaie [assay] and fineness, as is specified in the said statute or statutes. We give full power

to the said Germyn or his deputy or deputies during his life, to make and strike in the said castles and town, and every of them, four pieces of brass or copper running at one penny of our said silver, to be imprinted with the figure of a bishop's head, and a scripture of this word "Patrick" about the same head on the one side, and with a cross with this word "Salvator," then about on the other side, and to make as much or as little of every sort of the said moneys or coins of brass or copper, as he shall think to be profitable and good. And we grant to the said Germyn all the said moneys and coins of brass and copper to his proper use, in sustentation and finding of our labourers about the said money at his charges, free and quit, without any thing therefore paying to us during his said life. The master of the ming [mint] to account for our share of the profits of the said coinage to such person, as shall be assigned by the lieutenant or other governor of our said land, and not in the exchequer. That the weight and quantity of the said moneys of brass or copper be devised and made continually by the discretion of the master. As the said silver moneys may not be always made according to the right standard, because sometime, in default of the said master or workers, the said money of silver may be made too much or too little in weight or in allay, or in the one or in the other, by six penny-weight in every of the said pounds of troy; which six penny-weight shall be called remedy for the said master, and if such default be found in any of the said pounds upon the due assen [trial or assay] before the deliverance over of the said six penny-weight called remedy, that then it shall be challenged by the merchant, and not to be delivered, and then the said master shall reforge the said moneys so found defective, at his proper costs, till it be made able according to the ordinance. We grant power to the said Germyn to make all manner of punchons, screws, graves, and other instruments necessary to the said minters, at London or elsewhere, for which instruments to be made, we grant to him ten marks yearly to be received by his own hand out of the profits of our said moneys arising by such mints, to be allowed him on account. That he shall make a privy sign on every piece of silver money. Power to take at all times as many labourers yearly as shall be necessary. And if any labourer refuses to work at the said mints, that the master or his deputy shall arrest, and put them in prison, till he labours as desired. All officers ministers commanded to assist the said Germyn in the execution of the premisses. Grant to all merchants repairing to any of the said mints, free entry and issue in and out of the said castles and towns. Dated 6th Augusti primo Regni per Regem autoritate Parliamenti.

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1467 A.D.

At a Parliament holden in Dublin, before John Earl of Worcester, deputy to George Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant, it was enacted as follows :—

Whereas in a parliament held before Thomas earl of Desmond, in the fifth year of the present king, it was enacted, that the noble of due weight should be of the value of ten shillings, the demy-noble of five shillings, and the quadrant of gold of two shillings and six pence, and that for laccage in weight of such pieces of gold, they should be refused ; it is now enacted, that the laccage in weight in such pieces of gold shall not be a cause for refusing them, but the value of such laccage shall be paid in current silver after the rate hereafter rehearsed Cap. 8. As Ireland is destitute of silver, and the silver there made of late is daily carried away into divers countries, and so the people of this land continually take clipped money, contrary to the statute, it is enacted, that there be a piece of silver coined called a double, having the print of a crown on one side, with this writing, 'Edwardus Dei gratia Dominus Hibernie,' and on the other part a sun with a rose, with this inscription about it, 'Civitas Dublinie,' which shall pass in Ireland for eight deniers, and ten such pieces shall make an ounce according to the rightful standard of the Tower of London, and twelve such ounces shall make the pound according to the standard aforesaid, and there shall be in every pound six score such pieces of the weight of the said country. Also there shall be another piece of silver called a gross, having the print and scripture aforesaid, which shall pass in Ireland for four deniers ; and twenty such pieces shall go to an ounce of the said country, and two hundred and forty such pieces shall make the pound of the rightful standard aforesaid : of which coins every merchant shall have for an ounce sterling of silver six shillings, and the king shall have the residue, paying the master and workmen for their labour. And as the said silver money cannot be continually made of equal standard, because sometimes, in default of the master or workmen, they may be too great or too little in weight or allay, or in one or in the other, in weight of three deniers in every twenty shillings, the which weight of three deniers shall be called remedy for the said master. Also that there be a piece made of two deniers, or half the gross of the proportions aforesaid ; of which forty such pieces shall go to the ounce besides the allay. Also that a piece be made

called the denier, containing the half of the piece of two deniers, eighty of which shall go to the ounce besides the allay. Half-deniers and farthings to be made according to the same proportions, mutatis mutandis, with the like provisions: and that the print of the half-denier and farthing be made according to the print of the denier, with a scripture as long as the master and workmen can make them. That the said moneys and coins be made in the castles of Dublin and Trym, the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the towns of Drogheda, Galway and Carlingford; and that no body shall after Easter next receive or pay any manner of silver coyne or money, but the coin or money aforesaid, and that all other silver coins or money in Ireland be from the feast of Easter next damned and annulled; and if any person or persons receives or pays otherwise, that such payment shall be adjudged felony in the payer as in the receiver.

1601 A.D.

Proclamation by the Queen.

The Queenes most excellent majestie finding by the recordes of both her realmes of England and Ireland, that in the tymes of divers her progenitors, kings of England and Ireland, it hath ben accustomed, as a thing by them found convenient for the good of the loyall subjects of both realms, that there should be a difference betwene the standards of the monies allowed to be currant in each of her said realmes, and knowing by many lawes of her realme of England, and namely, by one made in the third yeare, and one other in the nineteenth yeare of her majesties grandfather of famous memorie, king Henrie the seventh, that the transportation of monies of the coyne and stander of England into this her realme of Ireland is severely forbidden, under great penalties, perceiving also by experience in some part heretofore, but more fullie and apparantlie now of late yeares since the last rebellion, which have caused her majestie to send great summes of money into this realme for the payment of her army, and for other services, that a great part of such monies into this realme sent doe either come into the handes of her rebels by divers sleights and cunnings of theirs, who by the use and meanes thereof trafficking in forraine countries do releive themselves with such warlike provisions as they need, as with pouder, lead, match, armes, and weapons of all sorts, and with wines, cloth and other necessities, without which they could not possibly so long subsist in their treasonable courses, and

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bring so huge calamities to the rest of, her good subjects and wast to the whole realme; or els the said sterling monies, as well in respect of their goodness being better than the monies of other countries, as also for want of marchandise wherein to employe them with this countrie, now especially since the rebellion doth not yeeld, and partly by marchants, strangers, and partly by the naturall marchants of the countrey using trade in forraigne countries, transported from hence into the said countries, to the inestimable losse and impoverishment as well of this realme of Ireland, as also chiefly of her majesties realme of England; hath therefore in her majesties princely wisdome entred into consideration, with the advise of her privie councill, how those great inconveniences might be avoided, and hath found after long and serious debateing, that the readiest way to prevent the same is to reduce the state of her monies and coynes to the antient course of her progenitors, that is, to a difference in fineness betweene the monies of the realme of England and her realme of Ireland, and for that purpose hath caused great quantities of monies, according to that antient standard which was in use for this realme in the daies of her majesties father, brother, and sister, to be coined here into severall pieces of Shillings, six pence, and pieces of three pence, stamped with her highnes armes crowned, and inscription of her usual stile on the one side, and on the other with an harpe crowned, being the arms of this her kingdome of Ireland, with the inscription, *posui Deum adiutorem meum*. And also certayne peeces of small monies of meere copper, of Pence, Half-pence and Farthings, for the poorer sort, stamped on each side as the other, and the same monies soe coined hath sent into this her realme of Ireland, here to be established as the lawfull and currant monies of this realme, and soe to be uttered and issued as well to her armie and officers in paiments to them, as also to all others her subjects of this realme and others here abiding or hither resorting for trafficke and entercourse of buying, selling, and all other manner of tradeing amongst themselves, which said coines, as well of silver of this new standard, as also of meere copper for small mony, her majestie doth hereby publish and make knowne to all men to be from henceforth, immediately after the publishing of this proclamation, her coine and monies established and authorized to be lawfull and currant within this her realme of Ireland and proper to this kingdome, and doth expressly will and command the same to be soe used, reputed and taking of all her subjects of this realme and of all others conversing here, and that they nor any of them shall not after the day of the publishing hereof refuse, reject or denie, to receive in payment of wages, fees, stipend or payments of debts, or in bargaine, or for anie other matter of trade, commerce, or dealing betweene man and man, any of said monies of either kind either mixt

of silver or pure copper, but that they shall receive and accept the same at such values and rates as they are coined for, *videlicet*, Shillings, for shillings, pieces of six pence, for six pence, and soe of all other the severall kindes of this coin respectively, denouncing hereby to all such as shall be found willfully and obstinatlie to refuse the said monies of this new standard, being tendered unto them in payments, or in anye dealings between partie and partie, that they shall for that their contempt receive such punishment as by her majesties preogative royall may be inflicted uppon persons contemning publike orders established for the universall good of this her realme; and to the end that the said monies may the better have their due course and passage among her majesties subjects of this realme, and the good intended to both the realmes the more speedilye take place, her majestie doth hereby also publishe and make knowne that her pleasure is, that after the tenth of Julie ymmEDIATELYE following the daie of this present proclamation, all other monies heretofore established to be currant, or used as lawfull or currant monies within this kingdome shall be decryed, adnulled and called downe, and noe other monies of what coyne, nature, mixture, allay or finenesse now used in this realme of Ireland, be they either monies of her majesties owne coyne and stampe currant in her realme of England, or of anye her predecessors, or of any forraine realmes permitted heretofore to be currant here, shall be any longer currant within her realme of Ireland, nor offered nor received by any person here inhabiting or here conversing by any manner of dealing amongst men, but that all such monies be from that daye forward held and esteemed for bullion onely meete to be molten downe and brought unto her majesties mynt, or exchange here, as hereafter is expressed. And although that this open and publike notification of her majesties pleasure bee and ought to bee to all her subjects and others being in this realme a sufficient declaration and warrant, as well of the authorizing of the monies of the new standerd nowe appointed to be currant, and also the calling downe and decrying of all other monies whatsoever from anie use here either publike or private: yet her highnesse being a prince that in her gracious disposition doth ever affect to make all her actions cleare and allowable, in her owne nature, rather than in the power of supreme authoritie, extending in this cause, to give to all persons such satisfaction as is reasonable and in the daies of her progenitors, when such monies were in use, was not offered, doth likewise hereby make knowne, that shee hath established an exchange to be had and maintained in convenient places in both her kingdomes of England and Ireland: as namelie, in Ireland, at Dublin, Corke, Galway, and Carigfergus: and in England, at London, Bristoll, and Chester. At which places shall be from henceforthe contynuallie

resident officers of her appointment, and in other places also of bothe the realmes, where it shall be found convenient for the ease of her subjects: at which places, and by which officers, all her subjects of either her realms of England and Ireland, and all other resorting unto this her realme of Ireland in trade of merchandise or otherwise, shall and may, from tyme to tyme, exchange and commute as well monies currant of England into monies of this new stander of Ireland, as also monies of this stander of Ireland into monies of the stander of England, at their pleasure, in manner as is hereafter expressed. First, all persons, being either her majesties subjects or the subjects of anye prince or state in amitie with her majestie, who shall bring to anye place of exchange within Ireland any monies of the coyne of her realme of England, or of the coyne of any forraine countries, or any plate or bullion, being of the finenesse of the stander of England, or better, desiring to receive for the same in England monies current of England, shall receive from the officer in Ireland a bill directed to such place of exchange in England, where the partie shall desire to have his payment, by which bill he shall receive of the officer in England, not onlie in monies of England, value for value of the monies, plate, or bullion, delivered in Ireland, but also an overplus of six pence English upon every twenty shillings Englishe by him delivered by tale, or of eighteen pence English upon every pound weight of such monies, plate, or bullion, delivered by the partie by weight, and after the same rate for more or less in quantitie or number, delivered by weight or by tale. Item, all persons, being her majesties subjects or the subjects of anie other prince or state in amitie with her majestie, which shall have in their handes anie quantitie or summe of the monies of this newe coine, appointed for her majesties realme of Ireland, and shall be desirous to receive for the same in England, monies current of England, and thereupon shall deliver to anie of her majesties officers of the Exchange in Ireland such summe of monie, as he is desirous so to exchange, he shall receive of the said officers in Ireland a bill directed to such place of exchange in England, as shall be desired by the deliverer, by which bill he shall receive of the officer in England, to whome the same is directed, the summe of monies of England by tale, as by the bill it shall appear he shall have delivered in Ireland, wanting onely twelve pence in the pounce, so for everye twentye shillings of the new coyne of Ireland, delivered in Ireland, he shall receive in England nyneteen shillings current monie of England, and after the same rate for more or lesse in quantitie delivered in Ireland. Item, if anye such person, having in his handes, within the realme of Ireland, monies currant of England, shall be desirous to exchange the same there for monies appointed to be currant in Ireland, the officer of the

Exchange there, to whome he shall bring anye summe of English monie to be exchanged, shall deliver to him, for everye twentye shillings of English monie received, one and twentye shillings of the coyne of Ireland, and after that rate for more or lesse in quantitie received. Item, if any person, being her majesties subject or otherwise, having cause to resort unto the realme of Ireland, shall be desirous to exchange monies currant of England into the monies currant of Ireland, for his use there, and shall deliver to that end anye Englishe monies to anye of her majesties officers of exchange here in England, the said officer shall deliver unto the said person a bill, directed to such place of exchange in Ireland, as the deliverer shall require, by which bill the officer of exchange in Ireland, receiveinge the same shall deliver to the bringer thereof, for every twentye shillings Englishe, delivered in England, one and twentie shillings of the new coyne of Ireland in Ireland, and after the same rate of more or lesse in quantitie delivered. And whereas there are, at this present, diverse old coyne of base allaye within that her majesties realme of Ireland, used and passinge in payments betwene men, which being now decayed, adnulled, and called downe, her majestie doth thinke fitt to have the same brought in and reduced to one uniforme coyne of this new standerd, her highnes is therefore pleased, that everye person whoe shall have in his hands any quantitie of such base coyne, and shall bring in the same to any of the offices of her Exchange in Ireland, that the officer receiveinge the same shall deliver to the bringer monie for monie of the monies of this new standerd, now appointed to be currant in Ireland: and, forasmuch as this notorious inconvenience aforesaid cannot be prevented without there be a due observation of such lawes of this realme of England, as heretofore have bene made, restraining the transporteinge of the monies currant in England into that realme of Ireland in specie, wherein great disorder hath bene of late yeares committed, and therby great inconveniences ensued, her majestie doth straightlye charge and commaund all magistrates and officers to whom it shall apperteyne, to see severe execution of such lawes as doe prohibit the transportation of her coyne of England into Ireland, and namelye one statute made in the nineteenth yeare of the raigne of her majesties grand-father of famous memorie, kinge Henrye the seventh, her majesties purpose being by this proclamation to admonish her loving subjects of both her realmes, and all others tradinge in her realme of Ireland, that they shall from henceforth forbear all transportation of monies of England into Ireland, for that her majestie will cause the former lawes, prohibiting the said transportation of monies, to be so straightly looked unto and executed, as the penalties thereof shall fall heavilye upon the offenders against the same, without

any hope of remission. Given at her majesties castle of Dublin the twentieth of May in the fortie three yeare of her raigne. God save the Queene.

1634 A.D.

Proclamation concerning the token coinage.

Whereas divers complaints have been made unto us the lord deputy from several parts of this kingdome, concerning the stop and refusall of farthing tokens, proceeding as well from the abuse in counterfeiting the same, as in causing the same to pass in payment either for commodities, or for wages to workmen and labourers, in greater quantities then was intended, which abuses are become a great burthen and grievance to his majesties people in many parts of the realme, for the remedy and reformation whereof, and to the end that the said farthing tokens may be used onley for exchange in small summes, but not to be put upon any in great payments: These are therefore in his majesties name to publish and declare that it is utterly unlawfull and expressly contrary to his majesties letter patents and proclamations, that any such farthing tokens should be inforced upon any poore labourers or workmen, or any other person or persons in any payment, either of great or lesser summes and it is further declared, that no person should pay above two pence in farthings, to any other person at any one time; and also it is by these presents declared, that it is unlawfull for any man to buy or barter for any farthings, at, or for any lesser rate then they are usually vented by his majesties patents, to whom the sole making thereof is granted, and upon whom the rechange thereof lyeth: All persons being hereby to take notice, that whensoever they shall bring unto Edward Lake, agent for the said patentees, (who is resident in the city of Dublin) any sum of lawfull farthings, he, the said Edward Lake, will pay unto them the like summe in silver, according to the covenant with the patentees: And it is further declared, that if any person or persons shall forge or counterfeit any of the foresaid farthing tokens, or shall bring or cause to be brought into this kingdom any such farthing tokens, so forged or counterfeited, or shall vent or make payment of any such farthings so counterfeited as aforesaid, knowing the same to be counterfeited, that then every such person or persons, so offending, shall receive such censure, by losse of ears, or other corporal punishment, as by the court of castle chamber heere in this kingdom shall bee thought meete. And further it is declared, that it

shall be lawfull for, and we accordingly require and command all and singular maniors [mayors], justices of the peace, sheriffs, constables, headbouroughs, comptrollers, customers, searchers, waiters [? bailiffs], and other his majesties officers and ministers, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to apprehend all and every person or persons, whom they or any of them shall probably suspect to be such counterfeiters, as also, to seize upon all counterfeit farthings, and ingins, or instruments for the making or forging the same, and them so seized to breake in peeces and utterly deface: And lastly, all his majesties loving subjects are hereby required to apprehend and bring before some of his majesties justices of the peace all such persons as they shall know, or probably suspect to have counterfeited, brought into this kingdom, or vented such farthing tokens as aforesaid, and all the said justices of the peace are hereby commanded to commit to the next shire-gaol such offenders, so taken, there to remaine until they put in security to answere the said offences in the castle chamber, which bonds so to be taken from time to time, together with such examinations, as the said justices of the peace shall have taken of or concerning such offenders, they are from time to time, monethly, to return hither to his majesties attorney-generall, together with the names of such of them, as shall remaine in prison, for want of security to appear in the castle chamber. Given at his majesties castle of Dublin, the sixteenth of September 1634, in the tenth yeare of his reigne.

1660 A.D.

Sir Thomas Armstrong's Patent.

Charles the second, &c. To all &c. Whereas the makeing and uttering of farthing tokens hath been found to be of greate and generall use and benefit to our people of our realme of Ireland, as well amongst tradesmen for exchange of moneys in the course of their severall trades, and especially of the poore and meaner sort. Know yee &c. that we have granted and grant &c. for us &c. to Sir Thomas Armstrong, knight, his heirs, executors, administrators and assignes, full power &c. dureing the terme of twenty years from the date hereof, to soyn such a quantitie of farthing tokens of copper, as may be conveniently issued during the said terms amongst our subjects of Ireland. And that in order they may be distinguished from any other tokens, they shall be made of copper by engines, and shall have on one side two sceptres crossing one diadem, and on the other side a harpe

crowned with our title, "Carolus Secundus Magne Brittannie, Francie et Hibernie Rex," and to weigh twenty grains or more, with a privy marke from time to time in order to discover the counterfeiting of any such like tokens, which farthings tokens, we do hereby for us, our heirs, and successors, will and ordaine, shall pass and be generally used between man and man, that shall and will voluntarily and willingly pay and receive the same as tokens, for the value of farthings, within this our kingdom of Ireland, forbidding all other persons whatsoever to make, counterfeit and utter, any other such tokens, or any other pieces of copper, upon pain of forfeiture of the said counterfeited money, and engines used in the making thereof; all officers, justices and magistrates, ordered to be aiding and assisting the said Sir Thomas Armstrong &c in the due execution of the premisses, they paying unto us, our heirs, and successors yearly, during the abovesaid terme, the sume of sixteen pound thirteen shilling and fourpence of lawfull money of England, in two payments, viz., on the twenty-fourth of June and twenty-fifth of December, and if any part thereof be not paid within thirty days after it becomes due, these letters pattents to be void and of no effect. The said Sir Thomas Armstrong, &c to have all the proffits ariseing from the said coynage and to be at any time ready to deliver one and twenty shillings, in the said tokens, for every twenty shillings in silver, and to repay twenty shillings in currant sterling money for every twenty-one shillings of the said tokens as shall be brought to them. Convenient quantities of the said tokens to be sent to as many cities, towns and other places, in Ireland, as they shall think fitt. In witness whereof &c witness ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth of December, in the twelfth yeare of our raigene.

By the King,

Child.

1680 A.D.

Assignment of Sir Thomas Armstrong's Patent by his representatives to John Knox.

This indenture, made the seventeenth day of June, in the thirty-second of King Charles II &c between Sir Thomas Armstrong, knight &c George Legg Esq &c, the right honourable Richard Earl of Arran, and Sir Nicholas Armourer, knight &c on the one part, and John Knox, of the city of Dublin alderman, of the other part. Whereas

the said Sir Thomas Armstrong knight, deceased (*sic*), and the said George Legg, did obtain from his majesty a reference to James duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for renewing a patent formerly granted to the¹ said Armstrong for making farthing tokens in Ireland. And whereas the said Thomas Armstrong, and George Legg, by writing under their hands and seals, the twentyninth of November 1678, did constitute &c Richard Earl of Arran and Sir Nicholas Armourer, their attorneys &c to get the said reference and obtain from the Duke of Ormond, allowance for passing such new grant for the making farthing tokens and halfpence, and issuing the same in Ireland and surrendering the former patent, and to treat and conclude with any person, for their interest in the said new patent (when past) by agreement either by yearly income, rent, or for such sum of money as they their said attorneys shall think fit, and to perfect &c such deed &c as shall be requisite &c in consideration of which care &c the said Armstrong and Legg, did grant to the said Earl of Arran and Nicholas Armourer, one third part of all the profits of such letters patents, after deduction for all charges relating to the same &c And whereas his majesty by his letters patents &c of the eighteenth of May last past, hath given &c to the said Sir Thomas Armstrong, and colonel George Legg, &c full and absolute power &c during the tearme therein mentioned to make &c such quantities of halfpence of copper &c (recites the whole patent). Now this indenture witnesseth, that the said Sir Thomas Armstrong, George Legg, Richard Earl of Arran, and Sir Nicholas Armorer, in consideration of the sum of one thousand five hundred pounds of lawfull money &c well and truly paid &c by the said John Knox, have granted and set over &c to the said John Knox, &c all such power &c to coin, stamp, disperse, utter &c of copper half-pence within the kingdom of Ireland as are granted to them &c in and by the said recited letters patents, in as full &c manner &c as they &c might or could doe by the said letters patents, to have &c, all and singular the said powers &c receive &c all such profits &c as shall be made &c during the remainder of the said twenty-one years. And the said John Knox &c doth covenant &c during the said term to pay &c perform all the rents, reservations, &c. And the said Sir Thomas Armstrong &c for themselves &c do covenant, &c that they will at any time hereafter, during the said term at the cost of the said John Knox, procure as often as shall be necessary from the chief governor of Ireland, a proclamation for the better execution of the said letters patents, and the passing of the said halfpenny tokens, and suppressing

¹ Probably the words "late father of" are here omitted and the word "deceased" wrongly inserted above.

all other tokens, instruments, &c. And that if the said Armstrong, &c doe, within the said term, procure any other patent &c for coining any other farthing, halfpenny or penny that the said John Knox &c shall have the full benefit thereof, during the said term without any fine &c in witness thereof &c.

1685 A.D.

Confirmation Grant by James II. of the last mentioned Patent.

Most reverend father in God, and right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor, we greete you well. Whereas the late king &c., did by letters patent &c., of the eighteenth of May 1680 &c., grant unto Colonel Legg, now Lord Dartmouth, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, &c., power &c., to make and utter such a quantity of copper half-pence, as might be issued in Ireland, within the term of twenty-one years &c. (recites the conditions of the grant). And whereas John Knox of Dublin, alderman and assignee &c. hath, as we are informed, been at great expence in providing copper &c., and has humbly prayed us that we would accept of a surrender of the former patent and to grant him a new one, for the term unexpired of the former grant, under the same yearly rent, restrictions &c., as in the said former patents, with this alteration only of the figure of our head to be stamped on the one side, and the inscription of JACOBUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA MAGNAE BRITANIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX. And we having referred the consideration of this matter to our high treasurer of England, and seen his report, together with the report, of our attorney general of Ireland, in the following words &c. Our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby require you &c., that you give such orders &c., for accepting a surrender of the former patents &c., and that thereupon you cause new letters patents to be forthwith passed under the great seale of that our kingdom, and with the advice of some our council learned in the law there, containing an effectual grant from us unto the said John Knox of a free licence from us that he the said John Knox, by himself may during the number of years granted by the former patents yet unexpired, make such quantity of half-pence of copper, as may be issued in that our realme, as our lawful coyne &c. See the abstract of the patent. Given at our court at Whitehall, the twenty third day of October, 1685, in the first year of our reign,

By his majesty's command,

Sunderland.

1685 A.D.

Patent from James II. to John Knox.

James the second, &c. To all, &c. Whereas the late King etc., did by letters patents bearing the date the eighteenth of May in the thirty-second year of his reign did grant unto Colonel George Legg, now Lord Dartmouth, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, deceased, full power to coin copper half-pence for the use of this our kingdom of Ireland. And whereas there is a great want of small coyne for exchange, and John Knox, alderman, and now lord-mayor of the city of Dublin, assignee to the said Lord Dartmouth and Sir Thomas Armstrong, hath been at great expence in providing copper and other materials for the making of the said half-pence, and hath surrendered the former patent; we do by these our letters patents grant unto the said John Knox, his executors, administrators and assigns, full power during the remainder of the term granted by the above said former patent to coyn such quantitie of copper half-pence as he can conveniently issue among our subjects of the said kingdom. The said half-pence to be made of copper by engines, having on one side the figure of effigies of our head, and on the other side, the stamp of an harp crowned, and with this inscription round before and on the reverse JACOBUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA MAGNAE BRITTANIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX. Which copper half-pence we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordayne shall pass and be generally used between man and man as tokens, for the value of half-pence, within this kingdom, forbidding all other persons whatsoever to make, counterfeit, or import, such copper half-pence or engines under paine of forfeiture thereof, or such other punishment as the law may inflict. All officers, justices, and magistrates ordered to be aiding and assisting the said John Knox in the due execution of the premisses he paying unto us &c the sum of sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, in two payments &c and that he shall have all the proffits ariseing from the said coynage, and to be ready at any time to deliver the sum of twenty shillings of the said copper half-pence for every twenty shillings in sterling money, which any of our subjects of Ireland shall be willing to give or disburse for the same, and to repay twenty shillings in sterling money for every twenty shillings of the said copper half-pence as shall be brought to him. Convenient quantities of the said half-pence to be sent to as many cities, towns and other places, in

Ireland, as he shall think fitt. Witness our aforesaid lords justices at Dublin, the twenty-ninth day of December, in the first year of our raigne.

Domville.

1689 A.D.

Proclamation of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Whereas, for remedy of the present scarcity of money in this our kingdom, and that our standing forces may be the better paid and subsisted, and that our subjects of this realm may be the better enabled to pay and discharge the taxes, excise, customs, rents, and other debts and duties, which are or shall be hereafter payable to us; we have ordered a certain quantity of copper and brass money to be coyned to pass currant in this our kingdom during our pleasure, in six penny pieces; each piece having on one side the effigies or figure of our head, with this inscription round. JACOBUS II DEI GRATIA, and upon the other side, the stamp or impression of cross-sceptres and a crown between J.R. with VI above, the month wherein they are coyned below, with this inscription round, MAG. BRIT. FRAN. & HIBER. REX. 1689, and fringed round, each of the said pieces to be of the metal of copper and brass; all which pieces of money we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to make currant money within this our kingdom. We do therefore hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said pieces of copper and brass coyned, or hereafter to be coyned by our said order marked and stampd as aforesaid, shall pass during our pleasure, as currant money amongst all our subjects within our realm, and in all payments to be made either to us, or from us, or to or from any of our subjects within this kingdom, according to the rates following; that is to say, each of the said pieces called six penny pieces, marked and stamped as aforesaid, to pass for six pence; the said pieces to pass at the rates aforesaid, for the interest which hereafter shall fall due for such mortgages and debts due by records, bills, bonds, or obligations, and likewise for any of the said principal debts so secured where the debtor or his goods are, or shall be taken in execution for the same, and we do hereby strictly charge and command all and every of our subjects of this kingdome to take and receive in all payments to be made to them (excepting as aforesaid) the said pieces of money according to the rates aforesaid, hereby declaring that such of our subjects within this kingdom as shall refuse the said pieces of copper and brass money at the rates

aforesaid (excepting as aforesaid) being tendered to them for payment, shall be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law, as contemnners of our royal prerogative and command. Provided always, that this our proclamation shall not be construed, to oblige any merchant or merchants, importing any goods into this kingdom, to receive upon the first sale of such goods so imported, any of the said copper or brass money: And whereas we have caused the said copper and brass money to be made currant money for present necessity, and therefore do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time. We do, by this our royal proclamation, promise and engage to all our subjects here that as soon as the said money shall be decried and made null, that we shall thereupon receive from all and every our subjects within this kingdom such proportion of the said money as shall be, and remain in their respective hands at the time the same shall be so decried and made null; and at the same time either allow for the same to them the value thereof, at the rates aforesaid, out of what rent, duties or debts, they respectively shall owe to us, or to make them full satisfaction for the same according to the rates aforesaid, in gold or silver of the currant coyne of this kingdom. Given at our court, at Dublin-castle, the eighteenth day of June, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By the King.

1689 A.D.

A second Proclamation of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Whereas, for remedy, of the present scarcity of money, in this our kingdom, and that our standing forces may be the better paid and subsisted, and that our subjects of this realm may be the better enabled to pay and discharge the taxes, excise, customs, rents, and other debts and duties, which are or shall be hereafter payable to us; we have ordered a certain quantity of copper and brass money to be coined and pass as currant in this our kingdom during our pleasure, in six penny pieces; which several pieces we have, by our proclamation, commanded to pass for currant money within this kingdom. And whereas, since the date of the said proclamation, we have ordered a further quantity of copper and brass money to be coined to pass currant in this our kingdom, during our pleasure in twelve penny pieces and half-crown pieces; each piece of the said twelve penny pieces having on one side the effigies or figure of our head, with this inscription round, JACOBUS II DEI GRATIA,

and upon the other side, the stamp or impression of cross-sceptres and a crown between J. R. with XII above, the month wherein they are coyned below with this inscription round, MAG. BRIT. FRAN. & HIBER. REX 1689, and fringed round, and each of the said half-crown pieces to be marked and stamped as the said twelve penny pieces, only that on the said half-crown pieces instead of XII shall be marked XXX, each of the pieces to be of the metal of copper and brass. All which pieces of money we have thought fit by the advice of our privy-council, to make current money within this our kingdom. We do therefore hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said pieces of copper and brass coyned, or hereafter to be coyned by our said order, marked and stamped as aforesaid, shall pass during our pleasure, as currant money amongst all our subjects within this realm, and in all payments to be made either to us or from us or to or from any of our subjects within this kingdom, according to the rates following; that is to say, each of the said pieces called twelve-penny pieces marked and stamped as aforesaid, to pass for twelve pence; and each of the pieces of the said pieces called half-crown pieces to pass for two shillings and sixpence; the said pieces to pass at the rates aforesaid in all payments excepting money left in trust or keeping with any person, and excepting mortgages, and debts now due by records, bills, bonds, or obligations; and that the same shall also pass currant at the rates aforesaid, for the interest which hereafter shall fall due for such mortgages and debts, due by records, bills, bonds or obligations, and likewise for any of the said principal debts, due so secured, where the debtor or his goods are, or shall be taken in execution for the same; and we do hereby strictly charge and command all and every of our subjects of this kingdom, to take and receive in all payments to be made (excepting as aforesaid) the said several pieces of money according to the rates aforesaid, hereby declaring, that such of our subjects within this kingdom, as shall refuse to receive the said several pieces of copper and brass money at the rates aforesaid (excepting as aforesaid) being tendered to them for payment shall be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law, as contemnors of our royal prerogative and commands. And we do hereby publish and declare, that if any person or persons whatsoever will presume to counterfeit the said money, or any of the said pieces, that he or they, so offending, shall be proceeded against as persons guilty of high-treason; and in case any person or persons whatsoever, will discover any such offender or offenders so as he or they be brought to condign punishment, we do hereby engage that such discoverer

or discoverers shall have for their recompense the one moiety of the estate, real and personal, of the same person or persons that shall be so found guilty of counterfeiting the said money or coyne, provided the value of the said estate will amount to forty pounds sterling or more, and if the said estate be under forty pounds, such discoverer or discoverers shall have for their service herein the sum of twenty pounds sterling. As for the better prevention of counterfeiting the sayd coyn, we do hereby strictly charge and command all persons whatsoever, that they or any of them do not presume to import into any part of this realm any of the said coyn, or of the said copper and brass money, under the highest penalty, forfeiture, or confiscation, that any law in this kingdom can allow or warrant; and if any person or persons shall at any time hereafter discover the importing of the said coyn into this realm, we do hereby engage that such person or persons so discovering shall have the full moiety of all forfeitures and confiscation that shall accrew to us, by reason of the said importation; and that there may be no pretence for the importing of any of the said coyn into this kingdom, we do hereby strictly charge and command all persons whatsoever that they or any of them do not presume to export any of the said coyn or pieces of copper and brass money into any other country whatsoever, hereby declaring, that whosoever shall offend herein, shall be prosecuted according to the utmost rigour of the law: And whereas by the said former proclamation for making the said sixpenny pieces currant within this kingdom, it is provided, that we shall not be obliged to take the said six penny pieces in the payment of the duty payable to us for foreign commodities imported into this kingdom; and that the first seller of such foreign goods or commodities, shall not be obliged to take the said sixpenny pieces in any payment to be made to him on such sale. We do hereby revoke the said clauses, and that the remaining part of the said proclamation shall be and remain in full force and that the said sixpenny pieces shall be taken in all payments, in such manner and under the same exceptions as the twelve penny pieces and the said half crown pieces, are made currant by these presents; and whereas we have caused the said copper and brass money to be made currant money for present necessity, and therefore do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time. We do by this our royal proclamation promise and engage to all our subjects here, that as soon as the said money shall be decried and made null, that we shall thereupon receive from all and every our subjects within this kingdom such proportion of the said money as shall be,

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and remain in their respective hands at the time the same shall be decreed and made void ; and at the same time either allow for the same to them the value thereof at the rates aforesaid, out of what rents, customs, excise, duties or debts, they respectively shall owe to us, or make them full satisfaction for the same according to the rates aforesaid, in gold or silver of the currant coyne of this kingdom. Given at our court at our castle of Dublin this twenty-seventh day June 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

1689 A.D.

A third Proclamation of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith goe to the several place or places where stamps, presses or coyning mills are, which with the several instruments belonging to the coynage you are to secure, under your respective seales, in some safe place soe as none can come at or meddle with the same without your consent ; as also to secure, in the same manner, any quantity of brass or copper casten, rounded or fitted to the mill, and if you shall find any persons at work at the said mills for our service, coyning brass or copper money, any two of you shall remain beside the said workmen to see that what is coyned bee duely aplied to our use and noe other, and at your leaving off the said coynage you are to secure the houses, tooles, and instruments as is abovesaid, taking an exact account of the pieces coyned, and securing them in the like manner ; you shall call to the officer of our guard for any assistance that may be necessary ; for doing all which this shall bee your warrant. Given at our court at Dublin-castle, this nineteenth day of June, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

1689 A.D.

Order of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith deliver to the commissioners of the mint those two brass canons now lying in the court of this our castle marked &c weighing &c and for soe doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at Dublin-castle, this eleventh day of July, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

To our trusty and wel-beloved
cozen and counselor Justin Lord
Viscount Mount Cashel, master general
of our ordnance.

1689 A.D.

Letter concerning the Gun-money.

Sir,

We have great occasion for his majesty's use to procure as much hamered or forged copper and brass as your parts can afford, and judging by the decay of trade and desolation of the country, that there may bee a great deale in your district or port, we desire you, by yourself and officers, to inform us presently what quantity you may bee able to furnish us with, and what the currant prices are of each. And whatever you can gett, buy at the best rates you can, and as soon as you have four or five hundred weight, pray send it to us the commissioners of his majesty's mint, at the mint-house in Capel-street, Dublin, and what you pay shall bee allowed you in your accounts at the custom house, so doing you'll oblige,

Yours &c.

1689 A.D.

Letter concerning the gun-money.

Waterford, Dec the 10th 1689.

I send you by Thomas Commins carryer the quantities of brass copper and battery¹ underwritten; you were pleased to order my buying of pewter, upon which I desired to know what I must give, to which I had no answer. I likewise advised that I had a parcell of new and ould pewter belonging to absentees, and desired to know if you would have it sent, &c

I am,

your honours most humble servant

Gre Rice.

To the chiefe commissioners of
his majesties mint.

1689 A.D.

Letter concerning the gun-money.

Limerick Jan the 4th 1689.

Sir,

Last Tuesday, the carriages parted from hence with six thousand six hundred weight of gunn mettle, six hundred, a quarter and two

¹ Battery = any metal reduced by hammering.

pounds of fine pewter, and a thousand weight of steele, they will be eleven or twelve days a going because the roads are very deep—The pewter cost ten pence per pound, and steele six pence. You may expect very soone a farther supply of mettles for I have made an agreement with two eminent dealers from Corke who have five or six thousand weight of copper and brass which they are to send here. I must have an order from the lords of the treasury, for sending it to your mint; there are foure or five broken bells in the country, which I can have if you send an order for seizing them for the king's use; there is an useless cannon at Gallway, and one or two at Kingsaile; I forgot to send you some of our coyne as you desired, by the next occasion I will not faile; I cannot buy fine pewter now under eleven or twelve pence the pound, for they say that you give fourteen or fifteen pence in Dublin, the rates for carriage from hence to Dublin is eight shillings the hundred weight. I rest your humble servant,

Wat Plunkett

To John Trindar Esq.

1689 A.D.

Letter concerning the gun-money.

Athlone, February the 9th 1689.

This day the mettall was weighed ("35.0.24lb by numb. at the bottom of this letter") and delivered to the carmen mentioned in the last letter, there is five hundred weight for the last gun they could not carry, and some brass that I have bought, and some brass belonging to absentees, which will be here in a few days and shall be sent by the first carrs that I can procure.

I am, your honour's most humble servant,

Chr. Nicholson.

To the honourable J. Trindar Esq.,
chief commissioner of his majesties
mint.

1689 A.D.

Order concerning the gun-money.

It is his majesty's pleasure that one six pence in the pound be given in copper for all silver money or gold that shall be brought to the mint, the silver being given in to the currant value and full

weight, all such silver as come in or gold, is to be attested by two commissioners of the second class, or by one of them and one of the wardens. His Majesty will give his further orders under his hand; in the meantime you are to proceed to take what money comes in.

1689 A.D.

Order concerning the gun-money.

Our will and pleasure is, that you cause to be coyned for our use severall pieces of coyne of two sorts to pass currant in this our kingdom of Ireland; the one about the biggness of a shilling to be made of white mix'd mettall haveing on one side the effigies or figure of our head, with this inscription round about it, JACOBUS II'DUS DEI GRATIA, and on the other side haveing a piece of prince's mettall fix'd in the middle with stamp or impression of the harpe and crowne and this inscription round about it, MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX, with the year of our Lord; which piece is to pass for a penny; and the other piece about the biggness of a sixpence to be made of the like mettall and stamp on both sides, in like manner, and with the inscription aforesaid and to pass for a half-penny, hereby giveing you full power and authority to coyne the said two pieces from time to time till further order. Given at our court at Dublin castle, the first day of March, 1689, and in the sixth year of our raigne.

To our trusty and well beloved
the commissioners of our mint in
our kingdom of Ireland.

1690 A.D.

A fourth Proclamation of James II. concerning the gun-money.

Whereas for remedy of the present scarcity of pence and halfpence in this our kingdom, we have ordered a certain quantity of mixed money to be coyned to pass currant in this our realme, dureing our pleasure in penny pieces and half penny pieces; each piece of the said penny pieces about the bigness of one shilling, having on one side the effigies or figure of our head, with this inscription round, JACOBUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA; and upon the other side, having a piece of prince's metal fixed in the middle, with the stamp

or impression of the harp and crown, and this inscription round, MAG. BR. FRA. ET HIB. REX, with the year of our Lord, and each of the said half penny pieces about the bigness of a six-pence to be marked and stamped as the said penny pieces, the said pieces to be of white mixed metal; all which pieces of money we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to make currant money within this our kingdom. We do therefore hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said pieces of white mixed metal coyned, or hereafter to be coyned by our said order marked and stamped as aforesaid, shall pass during our pleasure, as currant money, amongst all our subjects within this our realm, and in all payments whatsoever to be made either to us, or from us, or to or from any of our subjects within this kingdom, according to the rates following; that is to say, each of the said pieces called penny pieces, marked and stamped as aforesaid, to pass for one penny, the said pieces called half-penny pieces to pass for one half-penny, the said pieces to pass at the rates aforesaid in all payments whatsoever: And we do hereby strictly charge and command all and every of our subjects of this kingdom, to take and receive in all payments to be made to them, the said several pieces of money according to the rates aforesaid, hereby declaring that such of our subjects within this kingdom, as shall refuse to receive the said several pieces of mixed money at the rates aforesaid, being tendered to them for payment, shall be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law as contemnors of our royal prerogative and command: And whereas we have caused the said mixed money to be made currant for present necessity, and therefore we do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time; we do by this our royal proclamation promise and engage to all our subjects here, that as soon as the said money shall be and remain in their respective hands, at the time the same shall be decried and made void, and at the same time either allow for the same to them the value thereof at the rates aforesaid, out of what rents, duties, or debts they respectively shall owe unto us, or make them full satisfaction for the same according to the rates aforesaid, in gold or silver of the currant coyn of this kingdom. Given at our court at Dublin castle, the twenty-eighth day of March, 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign.

1690 A.D.

A fifth Proclamation of James II. concerning the gun-money.

Whereas for remedy of the present scarcity of money in this our kingdom, and that our standing forces may be the better paid, and our

subjects of this realm the better enabled to pay and discharge the taxes excise, customs, rents, and other debts and duties which are or shall be hereafter payable to us, we have ordered a certain quantity of white mixed metal to be coyned in crown-pieces, each piece of the said crown-pieces having on the one side our effigies or figure on horseback, with this inscription round, Jac. II. Dei Gra. Mag. Brit. Fra. & Hib. Rex : And on the other side having a piece of prince's metal fixed in the middle, with the stamp or impression of the crown surrounded with the arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, with this inscription round, Christo victore triumpho, anno Dom. 1690 ; and round about the edge of each such piece having this inscription, Melioris tessera fati, anno regni sexto : All which pieces of money so coyned, we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to make current money within this our kingdom. We do therefore hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said pieces of mixed white metal coyned or hereafter to be coyned by our said order, marked and stamped as aforesaid, to pass for five shillings in all payments whatsoever. And we do hereby strictly charge and command all and every of our subjects of this kingdom to take and receive in all payments to be made to them, the said several pieces of money according to the rate aforesaid ; hereby declaring, that such of our subjects within this kingdom, as shall refuse to receive the said several pieces of money according to the said rate, being tendered to them for payment, shall be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law, as contemnners of our royal prerogative and command. And we do hereby further publish and declare, that if any person or persons whatsoever will presume to counterfeit the said money or any of the said pieces, that he or they so offending, shall be proceeded against as guilty of high treason. And in case any person or persons whatsoever will discover any such offender or offenders, so as he or they be brought to condign punishment, we do hereby engage, that such discoverer or discoverers shall have for a recompence, at his or their election, either the sum of twenty pounds sterling for their service herein, or the one moiety of the state, real and personal, of the person or persons that shall be found guilty of counterfeiting the said money or coyn : And for the better prevention of counterfeiting the said coyn, we do hereby strictly charge and command all persons whatsoever, that they or any of them, do not presume either to import, into any part of this realm, or export into any other country whatsoever, any of the said coyn or money of white mixed metal under the highest penalty, forfeiture, or confiscation that any law in this kingdom can warrant or allow : And if any person or persons shall, at any time hereafter, discover the importing of any

of the said coyn into this realm, or the exporting thereof into any other country, we do hereby engage that such person or persons so discovering, shall have the full moyety of all forfeiture and confiscation that shall accrew unto us, by reason of such importation or exportation. And whereas we have thought fit, by publick convenience, to reduce the twelve penny pieces and half-crown pieces of copper and brass money hereafter to be coyned to a lesser weight than formerly, without any alteration of the impressions or superscriptions, and yet the said pieces to continue at the same value, that the like pieces passed at hitherto we do hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said twelve penny pieces, and half-crown pieces hereafter to be coyned, shall pass at the same value with the like pieces of copper and brass money formerly coyned, though not of equal weight. And whereas we have caused the said several sorts of coyn of copper and brass, and white mixed metal, to be made current money for present necessity, and therefore do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time; we do by this our royal proclamation promise and engage to all our loving subjects here, that as soon as the said money shall be decried and made null, we shall thereupon receive from all and every of our subjects within this kingdom such proportion of the said money as shall be and remain in their respective hands, at the time the same shall be decried and made void, and at the same time either allow to them the value thereof, at the rates aforesaid out of what rents, customs, excise, debts or duties, they respectively shall owe to us, or make them full satisfaction for the same according to the said rates, in gold or silver of the currant coyn of this kingdom. Given at our court at Dublin-castle, the twenty-first day of April, 1690.

1690 A.D.

A sixth Proclamation of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Whereas we have for weighty reasons, with the advice of our privy council, thought fit to call in all the half-crown pieces of copper and brass money, which appear by the stamp upon them to have been coyned within this our kingdom, before the month of May last, yet so as our loving subjects, who have such money in their hands, may thereby suffer no loss, but receive other current money in exchange thereof from the commissioners of our mint; our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, with the advice aforesaid, order and declare, that no half-crown of copper and brass money, which hath been coyned before the

said month of May, shall pass or be current money in any payment within the city or county of the city of Dublin, from or after the last day of this present month of June, nor in any other part of the province of Leinster after the fifteenth day of July next, or in any other part of this our kingdom after the last day of July aforesaid; and our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command the commissioners of our mint in our cities of Dublin and Limerick, to receive and exchange all such half-crown pieces as shall within the time aforesaid be brought into them, by paying to the persons that shall bring in the same, the like sum of other current money, and that without any delay or deduction whatsoever; and for the ease of such persons as live in places far distant from the said cities of Dublin and Limerick, and have but small summs of the said money in their hands, we do require the several collectors and receivers of our revenue to exchange in like manner all such half-crowns as shall within the time aforesaid be brought into them; and in case they have not money enough of ours in their hands to pay in exchange thereof, to give assignments for the same upon our receivers generals, who are hereby required to make present payment upon such assignments. Given at the court at the castle of Dublin, the fifteenth day of June, 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign.

1690 A.D.

A seventh Proclamation of James II. concerning the Gun-money.

Whereas for the more speedy supply of money to defray our present great and necessary expences, we have ordered a quantity of copper and brass to be coyned into crown pieces, each piece having on the one side our effigies or figure on horseback, with this inscription round, Jac II Dei Gra. Mag. Bri. Fra. & Hib. Rex, and on the other side the arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, with a crown in the middle and this inscription round, Christo victore triumpho, 1690, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, with the advice of our privy council, order and declare, that the said pieces of copper and brass so coyned or to be coyned by our said order mark'd and stamp'd as aforesaid, shall during our pleasure pass as currant and lawfull money amongst all our subjects within this realme or Ireland, and likewise in all payments to be made to us, or from us, or from any of our subjects within this kingdom, according to the rates following, that is to say, each of the said pieces to pass for five shillings in all payments

whatsoever, hereby strictly charging and commanding all our subjects within this our kingdom, to take and receive the said pieces, at the rate aforesaid, in all payments to be made to them, and forbidding all persons whatsoever to counterfeit the same, upon pain of being proceeded against as persons guilty of high treason. And we do by this our royal proclamation promise and engage, that whensoever the said money shall be decried or called in, we shall thereupon receive from all persons such proportion thereof as shall then remain in their hands, and at the same time either allow them to value thereof, according to the rates aforesaid, out of what rents, duties or other debts they shall respectively owe unto us; or make them full satisfaction for the same according to the said rates, in coyne then currant in this our kingdom. Given at our court at our castle of Dublin, the fifteenth day of June, 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign.

1690 A.D.

Proclamation of William and Mary, reducing the current value of the Gun-money.

Having taken into our consideration the great oppressions and abuses committed by our enemies in this our kingdom of Ireland, by coyning and making currant brass money of copper or mixt metal, and raising the value thereof to an extravagant height, thereby to enable them to continue the war against us, and to impoverish our loving subjects in our said kingdom: We have therefore thought it necessary to put stop thereto, and to the end that such part of the said copper or mix't metal money, which remains in the hands of our said subjects, may not be wholly lost, we have thought fit to reduce the former value of the said copper money, to the value or standard of the like copper money formerly currant in this our kingdom, and accordingly we do hereby will and require all our subjects, within our said kingdom of Ireland, to take and receive all such copper or mix't metal money, lately coined in the mint erected in our city of Dublin, at the several and respective valuations following, and that the same do pass currant in exchange of money, and for all manner of goods and provisions whatsoever, and shall be received by all the officers and collectors of our customs, excise, or other branches of our revenue accordingly, viz.

The large half-crown of copper money, together with the crown pieces, of like metal and weight, lately stamp'd shall pass at one penny sterling.

The small half-crown of copper, lately stamp'd shall pass at three farthings.

The large copper shilling shall pass at a half-penny sterling.

The small shilling, lately stamped, and six-pence, shall pass each at one farthing.

And our will and pleasure is, that all such pewter pence, as have been lately coyned in the said mint, shall pass for half-pence, and all the half-pence of the like metal, stamped in the said mint, shall pass currant for farthings.

Which several sorts of coyn shall be deemed as currant money, at the rates beforementioned, in all payments whatsoever within this our kingdom. Given at our camp by Dublin, this tenth day of July, 1690, in the second year of our reign.

1690—I A.D.

Proclamation of William and Mary, prohibiting the Gun-money.

Whereas their majesties, by their royal proclamation, dated at their camp, by Dublin, the tenth of July, 1690, in the second year of their majesties reign, for reasons therein mentioned, did think fit to reduce certain coyns of brass, copper and mix't metal, which formerly were used in this kingdom, and imposed upon the people at vast rates, beyond and above the intrinsick value, to the several rates in the said proclamation mentioned, and did ordain that the said coyns and prices should be deemed and taken as current moneys in all payments at the several rates therein contained. Now forasmuch as it is found by experience, that the Irish who are in rebellion against their majesties, and have in their possession the whole or the far greater part of the said coin, do begin by secret and cunning ways to bring in the said coin into those parts of this kingdom under their majesties obedience, wherewith they or their agents not only furnish their majesties enemies with divers goods, provisions and commodities, for supplying their wants and necessities, which they could not any other ways obtain but by this means will bring such vast quantities of the said coin amongst their majesties good subjects, as in the end will turn to their majesties great damage. We therefore taking the premisses into our consideration, for providing a remedy against this growing evill, have thought fit hereby to order, publish and declare, that from and after the six and twentieth day of this inst., February, none of the said pieces or coyns in the said proclamation mentioned, shall be currant, or used in any payments between any

persons whatsoever ; nor shall any of their majesties loving subjects be compelled to take or receive the same as money at any rate or price whatsoever. Given at the council-chamber in Dublin, the twenty-third of February, 1690, and in the third year of their majesties reign.

1692 A.D.

Proclamation of William and Mary concerning the Coinage.

Whereas by several proclamations heretofore published in the reigns of the late kings, Charles and James the second, before his abdication, and of their present majesties, certain tynn and copper half-pence and farthings have been declared currant to pass in dealings between his majesties subjects according to the tenor of such proclamations, and whereas we the said Lord Lieutenant have pursuant to a power reserved unto us, in and by certain letters patents under the great seal of this kingdom made in the reign of the late king Charles the second, ordered and directed the persons interested in the said letters patents to cause the effigies of their majesties heads stamped in copper, on the one side, and on the other side the stamp or impress of an harpe crowned with this inscription, Carolus secundus Dei gratia Mag. Brit. Franc. & Hib. Rex. Gulielmus & Maria Dei gratia Mag. Brit. Franc. & Hib. Rex & Regina, round before and on the reverse side of all the copper half-pence and farthings which they shall hereafter make or issue, pursuant to the power to them derived under the said letters patents. And whereas certain persons either ill-affected to their majesties government, or mislead by false news and rumours, do refuse to receive the tynn and copper half-pence and farthings, as well those formerly authorized, as those lately made as aforesaid, to the great hindrance of trade and commerce, and hazard of the lives of multitudes of poor persons, who have no other money either for change or to buy necessities for their families. For prevention whereof, and to undeceive all their majesties subjects who have been imposed upon by designing men to believe without any ground that the said several half-pence and farthings of tynn and copper as well those formerly as lately authorized or any of them, ought not to pass currant in payment in this kingdom as formerly they have and ought to do: we have thought fit to publish and declare, that neither the said copper or tynn half-pence or farthings have been or are by publick authority decry'd or disallow'd, but that they and every of

them ought to pass current in payment in such manner as formerly and of late, by virtue of the said letters patents and proclamation, they did and ought to pass in this kingdom. Given at the council-chamber in Dublin, the seventeenth day of February, 1692.

1723 A.D.

Petition of the Irish Parliament against the coinage of William Wood.

We the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, are under the utmost concern to find that our duty to your Majesty and our country, indispensibly calls upon us to acquaint your Majesty with the ill consequences, which will follow from a patent for coining Half-pence and Farthings to be utter'd in this kingdom, obtained under the great seal of Great Britain, by one William Wood, in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by a gross misrepresentation of the state of this kingdom. We are most humbly of opinion, that the diminution of your Majesty's revenue, the ruin of our trade, and the impoverishing of your people, must unavoidably attend this undertaking; and we beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that from the most exact enquiries and computations we have been able to make, it appears to us, that the gain to William Wood will be excessive, and the loss to this kingdom, by circulating this base coin, greater than this poor country is able to bear. With the greatest submission and deference to your Majesty's wisdom, we beg we may offer it as our humble opinion, that the reserving the coining of Half-pence and Farthings to the crown, and the not trusting it with any private person, body politick or corporate, will always be for your Majesty's service, and the good of your people in this kingdom.

In confidence, Sir, of your paternal care of the welfare of this country, we beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to extend that goodness and compassion to us, which has so eminently shew'd itself to all your other subjects, who have the happiness to live under your protection and government; and that you will give such directions as may effectually free us from the terrible apprehension we labour under from the patent granted to William Wood.

This Petition was forwarded on October 1st, 1723, by Walpole to Townshend at Hanover, where the court then was, to whom at the same time he wrote as follow :—

I was a good deal concerned till I saw what they did object, lest by inadvertency, or by being imposed upon, we might, out of a desire of doing the service, have let this slip through our fingers, liable to more objections than I was aware of. But most certainly this is not so. The resolution that makes the loss 150% is founded upon a computation that copper uncoined is worth 12*d.* a pound: now a pound of copper halfpence and farthings are by the patent to pass for 2/6; therefore the loss is 1/6. But a pound of copper prepared for the mint in London costs there 1/6; the charge of coining a pound of copper is at the mint 4*d.*; & I think the duty of a pound of copper coined, imported into Ireland, is a halfpenny per pound, beside the exchange, & which with all allowances, comes to 20%, & all this is laid aside & the copper money valued at the supposed value of the rough Irish copper, which is much inferior to English copper.

1724 A.D.

Presentment of the Grand Jury of the Liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, against the coinage of William Wood.

"This day, the grand-jury, and the rest of the inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, attended the dean of St. Patrick, with the following declaration, which they read to him, & desired that he would give orders to have it published.

"The Declaration of the Grand-Jury, & the rest of the inhabitants of the Liberty of the Dean & Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

"We, the grand-jury, and other inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean & Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin, whose names are under written, do unanimously declare and determine, that we never will receive or pay any of the halfpence or farthings already coined, or that shall hereafter be coined, by one William Wood, being not obliged by law to receive the same; because we are thoroughly convinced by the addresses of both houses of Parliament, as well as by that of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council, & by the universal opinion of the whole kingdom, that the currency of the said halfpence & farthings would soon deprive us of all our gold & silver, & therefore be of the most destructive consequence to the trade & welfare of the nation."

1724 A.D.

The presentation of the Grand Jury of the county of the City of Dublin against the same.

Whereas several great quantities of base metal coin, commonly called Wood's half-pence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, & lodged in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament, & the privy council, & the declarations of most of the corporations of this city, against the said coin: and whereas his Majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said half-pence.

We the Grand Jury of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term, 1724, having entirely at heart his Majesty's interest, & the welfare of our country, & being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; & that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his Majesty's revenue, & the ruin of us & our posterity, do present all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour, by fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said halfpence upon us, contrary to his Majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his Majesty's government, & to the safety, peace, & welfare of all his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by their zeal to his illustrious family, before his happy accession to the throne, & by their continued loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his Majesty & this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, & preventing the passing of his base coin; so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence & detestation of all reflections on his Majesty & his government; & that we are ready, with our lives & fortunes, to defend his most sacred Majesty against the Pretender, & all his Majesty's open & secret enemies, both at home & abroad.

Given under our hands, at the Grand Jury Chamber, this 28th of Nov., 1724.

George Forbes.	Philip Pearson.	Charles Lindon.
William Empson.	Thomas Robins.	Jerom Bredin.
David Tew.	Richard Dawson.	John Sican.
William Aston.	John Jones.	Anthony Brunton.
Stearn Tighe.	Thomas How.	Thomas Gaven.
Richard Walker.	Nathaniel Pearson.	Daniel Elwood.
Edmond French.	Joseph Nuttal.	John Brunet.
John Vereilles.	James Brown.	

1723 A.D.

The subjoined epigram and poem well represent the feelings of the populace with regard to Wood's money, and are of considerable interest, being as they are from the pen of Dean Swift.

EPIGRAM.

Carteret was welcomed to the shore
First with the brazen cannons roar ;
To meet him next the soldier comes,
With brazen trumps & brazen drums ;
Approaching near the town he hears
The brazen bells salute his ears ;
But when Wood's brass began to sound,
Guns, trumpets, drums, & bells were drown'd.

PROMETHEUS.

I.

As when the squire & tinker Wood
Gravely consulting Ireland's good,
Together mingled in a mass
Smith's dust & copper, lead, & brass ;
The mixture thus by chemic art
United close in every part,
In fillets roll'd, or cut in pieces,
Appear'd like one continued species ;
And, by the forming engine struck,
On all the same impression struck,

So to confound this hated coin,
All parties and religions join ;
Whigs, Tories, Trimmers, Hanoverians,
Quakers, Conformists, Presbyterians,
Scotch, Irish, English, French, unite,
With equal interest, equal spite ;
Together mingled in a lump,
Do all in one opinion jump ;
And every one begins to find
The same impression on his mind.

A strange event! whom gold incites
To blood & quarrels, brass unites;
So goldsmiths say, the coarsest stuff
Will serve for solder well enough:
So by the kettle's loud alarm
The bees are gathered to the swarm:
So by the brazen trumpets bluster
Troops of all tongues & nations muster;
And so the harp of Ireland brings
Whole crowds about its brazen strings.

II.

There is a chain let down from Jove,
But fasten'd to his throne above,
So strong that from the lower end,
They say all human things depend.
This chain, as ancient poets hold,
When Jove was young, was made of gold.

Prometheus once this chain purloin'd,
Dissolved, & into money coin'd;
Then whips me on a chain of brass;
(Venus was bribed to let it pass).

Now while this brazen chain prevail'd,
Jove saw that all devotion fail'd;
No temple to his godship raised;
No sacrifice on altars blazed;
In short, such dire confusion follow'd,
Earth must have been in chaos swallow'd,
Jove stood amazed; but looking round,
With much ado the cheat he found;
'Twas plain he could no longer hold
The world with any chain but gold;
And to the god of wealth, his brother,
Sent Mercury to get another.

Prometheus on a rock is laid,
Tied with the chain himself had made,
On icy Caucasus to shiver,
While vultures eat his growing liver.

S

III.

Ye powers of Grub-street make me able
 Discreetly to apply this fable :
 Say, who is to be understood
 By that old thief Prometheus? Wood.
 For Jove, it is not hard to guess him ;
 I mean his majesty, God bless him ;
 This thief and blacksmith was so bold,
 He strove to steal that chain of gold,
 Which links the subject to the king,
 And change it for a brazen string.
 But shure, if nothing else must pass
 Between the king & us but brass,
 Although the chain will never crack,
 Yet our devotion may grow slack

But Jove will soon convert, I hope,
 This brazen chain into a rope ;
 With which Prometheus shall be tied,
 And high in air for ever ride ;
 Where if we find his liver grows,
 For want of vultures, we have crows.

An Epitaph on the late renowned Mr. *W* – – *a*, Halfpenny
 Projector (*alias* Copper-Captain), of *Ireland*, and Iron-Master
 General of *Great Britain*.

HERE lies MASTER *W* – – *d*,
 Who did what he could
Whitehaven by Tricks to environ
 But his glass is run out,
 Who made such a rout,
 With his Half-pence and making of Iron.

Fog's Journal, August 29, 1730.

1737 A.D.

Order of the Privy Council concerning the coinage.

Whereas the Lords Justices and Privy-council of this kingdom,
 in order to remedy the inconveniences and difficulties which affect
 the trade, and particularly, the linen manufactures of this kingdom,

and his majesty's revenues here, occasioned by the want of good copper money; applied to his grace Lionel Duke of Dorset, late lord lieuteuant general, and general governor of this kingdom, to lay the same before his majesty and obtain his royal licence for coyning fifty tuns of copper at his majesty's mint of London, under the regulations herein after mentioned And whereas his majesty, to answer the said proposals made by the lord Justices and Privy Council of this kingdom, with the concurrence of the said lord lieutenant general, and general governor of Ireland, and for remedying the said inconvenience, has been most graciously pleased to direct, that a proper agent should be appointed to contract for fifty tons of copper, to be delivered to the master of his majesty's mint in his tower of London to be coined for the service of this kingdom; and also to authorise and command the master of his mint in his said tower of London, to receive from such person or persons, as his majesty's lieutenant general, and general governor, or lords justices of this kingdom, or any authorized by them or either of them, shall contract with for that purpose, fine copper, which when heated red-hot, will spread thin under the hammer without cracking, and out of the same to coin fifty tuns, or such greater quantity, as shall be necessary for this kingdom, one sixth in farthings, and five sixths in Half-pence, of such size, that fifty and two halfpence, or hundred and four farthings, may make a pound weight avoirdupois, excepting only such errors by accident, not by design, as may happen by the unequal size of the bars not exceeding the thirtieth part of a pound weight; and that his majesty's effigies, with the inscription, Georgius II Rex. be stamped on one side of each piece and the Irish harp crowned on the other side, and over it the inscription, Hibernia, and under it the date of the year, with directions that the moniers of his majesty's said mint should not distribute any of the said money, before the same be duely assayed. And whereas his majesty has been also graciously pleased to direct, that the costs of the said fifty tuns of copper, and all charges attending the coining, and the transmitting the said halfpence and farthings, when coined, into this kingdom, should be paid by his majesty's vice-treasurer, receiver general and pay-master of this kingdom, his or their deputy for the time being; and that whatever profit shall arise from the said coinage (after all necessary expences about it defrayed) shall go into publick revenue at large of this kingdom, to be employed as any part of the publick revenue unappropriated, is employed. And whereas there have been former copper coinages for this kingdom, under the patents of his majesty's royal predecessors, which copper money, is now currant

in this kingdom ; his majesty has been also graciously pleased, in order to continue the currency of such copper money coined under those patents, together with such copper money as shall be coined for all service of this kingdom, in his majesty's tower of London indifferently, and without any preference of the one sort to the other, in discharge of what shall become due to his majesty : provided that no more be received in any one payment made to them, than twelve of those halfpence, or sixpence ; and that if by those payments, the said collector or any of them shall have a redundancy of those half-pence, that the said collectors shall, and may pay to the respective officers of his majesty's army in this kingdom, or to such person as shall tender an Exchequer acquittance to the said collectors, for payment of his majesty's said army, any sum of the said half-pence, not exceeding five pounds in every hundred pounds, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser sum, and the like quantity to the officers of his majesty's revenue, who shall receive their salaries, from the respective collectors. And his majesty has been further pleased to signify his pleasure, that his said vice-treasurer, and receiver-general or his or their deputy, do issue out of his majesty's treasury in this kingdom, such new coined copper, or old copper money, as they shall receive, to such as are willing to take the same. And whereas their Excellencies the Lords Justices of this kingdom have, in obedience to his majesty's commands, given the necessary directions to the commissioners of his majesty's revenue here, for receiving and paying the said copper money ; and to the deputy vice-treasurer of this kingdom for issuing the same : We therefore the Lords Justices and Council, do by this our proclamation, publish and declare his majesty's most gracious intentions for the service of this kingdom. And to prevent further imposition upon the traders and poor manufacturers of this kingdom, by the uttering of false and base brass money, commonly called Raps, we do hereby declare, that if any person or persons shall presume to make, vend, or utter any halfpence, or farthings, or other pieces of brass, copper, or other base metal, other than the copper money coined under the patents of his majesty's royal predecessors, and now current in this kingdom, and such copper money as is or shall be coined in his majesty's tower of London, for the service of this kingdom, or shall offer to counterfeit any of the said half-pence or farthings, such person or persons shall be prosecuted, for such their offences, with the utmost severity of the law, to deter others from committing the like crime. Given at the council-chamber, in Dublin, the sixth day of May, 1737.

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THE COINAGE OF WILLIAM WOOD FOR THE AMERICAN COLONIES,

1722-1733.

BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D.

ONCERNING the life of William Wood it is a difficult matter to write at all fully or at length, owing to the very few contemporary notices which have come down to us, and this must occasion no little surprise when we bear in mind the somewhat important position which Wood occupied upon the political stage of his time.

William Wood was born on July the 31st, 1671, and though nothing is known of his early life we learn that he resided at the Deanery, Wolverhampton, during the period from 1692 to 1713. Even previously to his entrance into the field of numismatics he was a person of considerable importance, for we are told that not only was he possessed of iron and copper mines in the West of England, but he was also the lessee of mineral rights in thirty-nine Welsh and English counties, and remembering that he was able to purchase his patent for the sum of £10,000, we are forced to consider him as being very different from the portrait which Swift has given to us.

In the year 1722, the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, obtained from the Earl of Sunderland a patent for the coinage of copper money for the Kingdom of Ireland, which privilege she sold for £10,000 to William Wood. For further details of Wood's coinage for Ireland, the reader is referred to the author's "Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin and Pewter."¹

¹ See page 201 *et seq.*

On July 12th of the same year, 1722, Wood also received a patent empowering him to strike and issue coins for "the Plantations," as the North American colonies were then named. This right was for a period of fourteen years, the quantity to be issued being limited to 300 tons, of which 200 tons were to be struck during the first four years, and an amount not exceeding ten tons per annum in the ten years succeeding. For this privilege Wood was to pay a yearly rent to the Crown of £100, and to the Clerk Comptroller £200.¹

These American coins are familiar to us by the name of "*Rosa Americanas*," and were struck from a material known as Bath metal, the composition of which was as follows :—

Silver	1 dwt.
Tutanaigne	4 ozs. 19 dwts.
Brass	15 ozs.
	<hr/>
	20 ozs.
	<hr/>

From this quantity were to be struck either thirty-six twopenny pieces, seventy-two pence, or one hundred and forty-four halfpence, which coins are proportionately about half the weight of the corresponding English halfpence and farthings of the time. The *Rosa Americanas* were issued during the period 1722–1733, the dies being prepared by the following engravers, Harold, Lammas and Standbroke, who were also the artists for the Irish issues.

With Wood there were associated in this undertaking, Kingsmill Eyres, described as an esquire, and a hardware-man of Cornhill, named Marsland, the latter of whom, it is stated, "had a cellar full of these pieces," and as the difficulty of passing them into currency was almost as insuperable as was that with the Irish series, it need occasion no surprise to learn that Marsland was by this means ruined. Shortly afterwards he died, an inmate of Gresham College.

The dies for some of these American pieces were removed by Winthorpe to New York when he emigrated to that city. The mints at which these coins were made were situated at London and Bristol,

¹ For this patent *in extenso* see page 276.

as will be apparent from the subjoined extracts from contemporary papers. The following announcement occurs in *The London Post* for January the 14th, 1723 :—

“ William Wood of Wolverhampton Esq., having a patent for fourteen years, for coining farthings and halfpence for Ireland, and halfpence, pence and twopences for all His Majesty's dominions in America, hath erected a building in Phoenix Street, Brown's Gardens, near the Seven Dials, for the American coinage and another in the city of Bristol for the Irish coinage.”

In the same journal for January the 18th, 1723, appears this further statement, which was also in the *St. James's Journal* for January the 19th :—

Wood began his coinage for Ireland on Monday last near the Seven Dials. In about a week's time he will begin to coin at Bristol pieces for America, which will be made of a beautiful compound metal.”

Wood no doubt selected Bristol as his mint owing to the fact that at this time, 1723, it was the centre of the brass trade and possessed the largest copper smelting works in England ; it was also the principal port for trade with the Plantations, and conveniently situated for the export of the coins to America.

We may recognise as brass the “ *beautiful compound metal* ” spoken of by *The London Post*. The blanks for these coins were heated prior to being struck by the die, which was elevated to some height and then allowed to descend, and this no doubt accounts for the many specimens which appear blistered, as though they had been subjected to the action of fire.

Doubtless the somewhat unusual material of which these pieces were made, accounts for the few specimens which have come down to us in a fine state of preservation, the soft metal not being calculated to resist the wear and tear of time and circulation.

The following letter to the Governor of New Hampshire, dated October the 29th, 1725, is interesting, as showing the difficulty attending the passing of this issue into circulation.

" Whitehall, 29th Oct., 1725.

" Sir,

" His Majesty having been pleased to grant to Mr. William Wood his letters Patents for the Coyning of Halfpence, Pence and two Pences of the Value of Money of Great Britain for the Use of His Majesty's Dominions in America which said Coyn is to receive such additional value as shall be reasonable and agreeable to the customary allowance of Exchange in the several parts of these His Majesty's Dominions as you will see more at large by a Copy of the Patent, which will be laid before you by the person that delivers this letter to you ; I am to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that, in pursuance of a Clause in the said Patent by which all his Majesty's Officers are to be aiding and assisting to Mr. Wood in the due Execution of what is therein directed and in the legal Exercise of the several Powers and Enjoyment of the Privileges and Advantages thereby granted to him, you give him all due Encouragement and Assistance, and that you and all such other of His Majesty's Officers there, whom it may concern, do readily perform all legal Acts, that may be requisite for that purpose. This I am particularly to recommend to your Care ; and to desire your Protection to Mr. Wood and to those he shall employ to transact this affair in the Provinces under your Government.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most humble Servant,

" Holles Newcastle."

" Governor of the Massachusetts Bay
and New Hampshire."

Among other items which have come down to us is the statement that William Wood was the first to use pit coal for the manufacture of iron, which had up to this time been prepared with charcoal, and it is not unlikely that the specimens of the obverse of the 1733 *Rosa Americana* twopence struck in steel, were issued to prove the excellence of the metal produced by this new means.

Wood, in consideration of receiving a yearly pension of £3,000 for eight years, surrendered his patent for the Irish coinage in 1725, but he appears to have retained the right of coining pieces for the American Colonies, and the twopence of 1733 referred to above, though subsequent to Wood's decease, which occurred on August the 2nd, 1730, was without doubt executed by his successors to the privilege of the patent.



"ROSA AMERICANA" COINAGE.

The body of William Wood was removed from London for interment at Wolverhampton, August, 1730.

On June the 21st, 1728, William Wood communicated to the Board of Trade a proposal to remedy the evils arising from "the issuing of paper money and the rating of coin." His proposal was to strike a Colonial coinage (to be stamped AMERICA) repeating the several British coins, both of gold, and of silver, but "one forth less in value," *i.e.*, following the lines of the Proclamation and Act of Queen Anne. These coins were to pass by tale, and to be kept in the Colonies by various devices which Wood suggested. Nothing, however, came of his interested proposal.¹

The *Rosa Americana* coins are of three denominations, viz., twopenny pieces, pence, and halfpence, though as previously mentioned they were of but half the intrinsic value of the English coinage of this period.

It is always an interesting study in numismatics to endeavour to trace the origin of the type of a coinage which is in any way unusual to its period, as this series undoubtedly was. The result of the writer's research in this instance suggests that we may discover the prototype of the *Rosa Americana* issues in the following pattern piece of Elizabeth, from which the design for the American coinage would appear to be derived.



FIG. 1.

PATTERN PENNY OF ELIZABETH. WITHOUT DATE.

Obverse.—∴ ROSA. SINE. SPINA. ∴ surrounding a crowned rose within a dotted circle.

Reverse.—PRO • LEGE • REGE ET • GREGE, surrounding a shield bearing the cross of St. George. Mint mark, a cross, Weight, 28 grs. Fig. 1.

¹ *Colonial Currency*, Chalmers, p. 17.

In the early issues of the American series, we find the rose alone, in the second the rose crowned, whilst in the coin presently described under No. 22, we have the rose together with the legend ROSA SINE SPINA in full. The first piece struck was a twopenny piece without date and without label, which on account of its extreme rarity may be a pattern.

No. 1. PATTERN TWOPENCE. WITHOUT DATE.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS · D: G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET. HIB: REX.

A large laureated head of George I. to right, with flowing curls on the side of the neck, and a single tie to the wreath.

Reverse.— · ROSA · AMERICANA · in large letters above a large seeded rose; beneath, · UTILE · DULCI · Weight, 193 grs. Plate, No. 1.

This piece was followed by a coin, No. 2, identical in regard to the reverse, but from an obverse die of better execution, and similar to the coin next to be described but without a period after the word REX. Weight, 214 grs.

This coin, which appears to be a mule between the first and second issues, is excessively rare, only two examples being known.

No. 3. TWOPENCE. WITHOUT DATE.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS · D: G: MAG: BRI: FRA: ET · HIB: REX ·
Laureated bust of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · above a seeded rose; beneath, on the label, UTILE · DULCI · Weight, 244 grs. Plate, No. 2.

Following this would appear a penny dated 1722, which in the use of V's for U's both upon the obverse and reverse, seems to have been struck before the other pence of the same year.

No. 4. PENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · VTILE · DVLICI · 1722 · surrounding a seeded rose. Weight, 155 grs. Plate, No. 4.

This coin is struck upon a large copper flan, and being extremely rare is probably a pattern.

Following the previous coin and exactly similar as regards the reverse, we have

No. 5. PENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · VTILE · DVLCI · 1722 · surrounding a seeded rose. Weight, 147 grs. Plate, No. 5.

and also a halfpenny, though the reverse reading is contracted.

No. 6. HALFPENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERI : VTILE · DVLCI · 1722 · surrounding a seeded rose. Weight, 64 grs. Plate, No. 10.

This coin is also extremely rare and probably only a pattern. A very similar halfpenny exists, with the legends contracted on both obverse and reverse.

No. 7. HALFPENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D : G : REX · Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERI : UTILE · DULCI · 1722 · surrounding a seeded rose. Weight, 62 grs. Plate, No. 9.

The following five coins would probably be struck in the order they are here placed.



FIG. 2.

No. 8. TWOPENCE, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·
Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · J722 · above a seeded rose, beneath,
on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight, 213 grs. Plate, No. 3,
also Fig. 2.

No. 9. PENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA • UTILE · DULCI · J722 • sur-
rounding a seeded rose. Weight, 122 grs. Plate, No. 6.

No. 10. PENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 • sur-
rounding a seeded rose. Weight, 126 grs. Plate, No. 7.

No. 11. HALFPENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 • sur-
rounding a seeded rose. Weight, 70 grs. Plate, No. 11-12.

No. 12. PENNY, 1722.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 · surrounding
a seeded rose. Weight, 125 grs. Plate, No. 8.

In the following year, 1723, it was no doubt the intention to repeat the existing design with the mere change of the terminal figure of the date. Of this, evidence is forthcoming in the pattern halfpenny next described.

No. 13. PATTERN HALFPENNY, 1723.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA • UTILE · DULCI · J723 • sur-
rounding a seeded rose. Weight, 62 grs. Plate, No. 13.

The issue was, however, abandoned in favour of the handsomer coins bearing the rose beneath a crown. This issue consists of coins of three denominations, viz., twopence, penny and halfpenny.

No. 14. TWOPENCE, 1723.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRA · ET · HIB · REX ·
Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · J723 above a seeded rose beneath
a crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight,
240 grs. Plate, No. 16.

No. 15. PENNY, 1723.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · J723 above a seeded rose beneath
a crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight,
128 grs.

No. 16. HALFPENNY, 1723.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · J723, above a seeded rose beneath a
crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight
66 grs. Plate, No. 14.

A silver proof is known of the above halfpenny.

No. 17. PATTERN HALFPENNY, 1723.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of
George I to right.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA J723 : above a large seeded rose
beneath a crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI ·
Weight, 70 grs. Plate, No. 15.

This piece, which is struck in silver, is in the cabinet of the author and is probably unique.

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FIG. 3.

NO. 18. PATTERN TWOPENCE, 1724.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D · G · MA · B · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · Fine laureated bust of George I. to right with flowing hair curling beneath the truncation.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · 1724 · above a seeded rose surmounted by a crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI · Weight, 200 grs. Fig. 3.

Of this beautiful example of medalllic art but three examples are known, the one illustrated is in the collection of Mr. J. B. Caldecott.

A silver proof of the above coin, weighing 245 grs., was in the Murdoch collection and was illustrated in the sale catalogue of the Colonial Section No. 438. On the obverse beneath the bust are engraved the initials W.W., whilst on the reverse, to the left of the rose, is engraved, VIII JVNE. These initials suggest the possibility that this unique coin may once have been the property of William Wood.

NO. 19. PATTERN TWOPENCE, 1724.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D · G · M · B · FRA · ET · HIB · REX · Similar to the preceding coin except for the variation in the legend.

Reverse.—Similar to the above, but no period after DULCI. Weight 150 grs. Plate, No. 18.

NO. 20. PATTERN PENNY, 1724.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of George I. to right.

Reverse.—ROSA : AMERICANA · 1724 above a seeded rose beneath a crown ; below, on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight, 120 grs. Plate, No. 5 obv., 17 rev.

There exists a silver proof of the above penny, the date 1724 being officially altered from 1723.

The next coin struck was a pattern penny very similar in design to Nos. 18 and 19.

NO. 21. PATTERN PENNY, 1724.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · D · GRATIA · REX · Laureated head of George I. to right with flowing curls.

Reverse.—ROSA : AMERICANA · 1724 above a seeded rose beneath a crown ; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI Weight, 93 grs. Plate, No. 17.

A curious mule is known of the penny size, the obverse being from the obverse of the twopenny-die of 1724, the reverse from the reverse of the halfpenny-die of the year 1723. This piece is in the cabinet of the author.

After this follows a piece which although it is undated, must be of this year, for the obverse is the same as that of the Irish pattern halfpenny of 1724.



FIG. 4.

NO. 22. PATTERN PENNY UNDATED.

Obverse.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX. Fine laureated bust of George I. to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of the neck. Fig. 4.

Reverse.—ROSA : SINE : SPINA. A leafy sprig springing from the ground bearing three roses and two rose buds. Weight, 127 grs. Plate, No. 20.

Only three examples of this rare piece are now known.

The reverse of this piece is also found united with another obverse, which is as follows : WILHELMINA : CHARLOTTA .

T 2

PR . WALLIA . Draped bust of the Princess to left. This medalette occurs in the author's cabinet in Bath metal, whilst the example in the National Collection is struck in white metal. Both varieties are of extreme rarity and were probably issued about 1724.

As William Wood died in 1730 the coin described below was, as previously remarked, probably issued by his successors to the patent for this coinage. There now remain to us only two complete examples of it struck in Bath metal, but another specimen was lost on its way to America owing to the wreck of the ship *Arctic*.

NO. 23. PATTERN TWOPENCE, 1733.

Obverse.—GEORGIVS · II. D. G · REX · Laureated head of George II. to left.

Reverse.—ROSA · AMERICANA · J733 · above a branch bearing beneath a crown, a full-blown rose, a bud and seven leaves; beneath, on a label, UTILE · DULCI. Weight, 290 grs. Plate, No. 19.

There occur also six examples of the obverse of this piece struck in steel, one such specimen is in the author's cabinet; and on the reverse of another is engraved **HAWKINS**
JAN^{RY} 1737 weight, 292 grs.

WILLIAM WOOD'S PATENT OF 12TH JULY, 1722.

The following is the full text of Wood's Patent :

Wm Wood } This Indenture made the day of
Ar' } in the year of the Reign of our Sovereign
Grant } Lord George by the Grace of God of Great Britain
ffrance and Ireland king Defender of the ffaith &c Annoq Dñi one
thousand seven hundred twenty two Between our said Sovereign Lord
the king of the one part and William Wood of Wolverhampton in the
County of Stafford Esquire of the other part Whereas our said
Sovereigne lord hath received Information that Within his Majesties
Islands Dominions and Territories in America there is a great Want
of small money for making small payments to such as would
voluntarily accept the same and that Retailers and others do suffer by
reason of such Want and Whereas the said William Wood hath

humbly represented to his Majestie that he the said William Wood hath Invented a Composiçõn or mixture consisting partly of fine virgin Silver partly of superfine Brass made of pure Copper and partly of double refined linck otherwise called Tutanaigne or Spelter so that a mass or peice of fine metal made of such mixture or Composiçõn and weighing Twenty ounces Averdupoiz doth contain one penny weight Troy of fine virgin Silver ffifteen Ounces Averdupoiz of fine Brass and the Remainder of the said peice of Twenty ounces Averdupoiz is made of the said double refined linck otherwise called Tutanaigne or Spelter A Standard peice whereof weighing Twenty Ounces Averdupoiz hath been humbly presented to his Majesty by the said William Wood in Order to be delivered to the Comptoller or king's clerk to be appointed as hereinafter mençõned for trying the fine metal to be made for coynage of such moneys hereinafter prescribed and the small moneys to be made with the same metal And the said William Wood hath humbly proposed to his Majestie vpon the Terms and Condiçõns herein after expressed to make small moneys of such Composiçõn or Mixture as aforesaid for the Service of his Majesties Subjects in America who will voluntarily accept the same as aforesaid Now this Indenture Witnesseth That our said Sovereign Lord by virtue of his Prerogative Royal and of his Speciall Grace certain knowledge and meer moçõn and in Consideraçõn of the Rents Covenants and agreements hereinafter contained and expressed on the part and behalfe of the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes to be paid done observed and performed hath given and Granted and by these presents for himsele his heirs and Successors Doth Give and Grant unto the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes full free sole and absolute power Priviledge lycence and Authority That he the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes by himsele or themselves or by his or their Servants Workmen and Assignes (and no other Person or Persons whatsoever) shall and may from time to time during the Term of ffourteen yeares to be reckoned and accounted from the feast of the Annunciaçõn of the Blessed Virgin Mary one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two Coyne or make and caused to be Coyned or made at his and their own proper Costs and Charges at some publick and convenient Office Within his Majesties City of London or the Suburbs of the same or such other place as shall be approved by the Comissioners of his Majesties Treasury or high Treasurer for the time being to be Provided from time to time by him the same William Wood his Executors Administrators or Assignes any Number or Quantity of Tokens or peices of such mixt metal or Composiçõn as is before described to go for half pence pence and Two pences and to be

from time to time after the coyning thereof transported or carried into his Majesties Islands Dominions and Territories in America or some of them and may be uttered or dispersed there and not elsewhere Provided allways that every such Office for Coyning such halfpence pence and Two pences (before any such coyning therein) shall be Notified by the said William Wood his Executors Administrators or Assigns in the London Gazette and by a Writing to be openly affixed vpon the Royal Exchange in London Provided also that the Whole Number or Quantity to be Coynd by virtue of such his Majesties letters Patent do not exceed in the said Whole Term the Quantity to be made of Three hundred Tunns of such mixt metal or Composiçõn as before described Provided likewise that the Number or Quantity (part of the said whole Quantity) do not exceed in the first four years of the said Term the Quantity to be made of Two hundred Tunns of such mixt Metal or Composiçõn as aforesaid and do not exceed for any one year for the last Ten years of the said Term the Quantity to be made of Ten Tons of the said mixt Metal or Composiçõn And so as all the mixt Metal or Composiçõn of Which the said half pence pence and two pences shall be made do consist of such Ingredients and in such Proportions as are above described and so as all the said halfpence and two pences be of such size and bigness That Twenty ounces Averdupoiz Weight of such mixt Metal or Composiçõn shall not be converted into more half pence pence or two pences than shall make sixty pence by tale and so as all the said half pence Pence and Two pences be made of equal Weight in themselves or as near thereunto as may be being allowed a Remedy not exceeding one penny over or under in each Weight of them holding Twenty Ounces Averdupoiz And so as the said Metal or Composiçõn for making the said half pence pence and Two pences be from time to time before the making thereof assayed and so as the half pence pence and Two pences be made therewith from time to time before the uttering the Coynd half pence pence and Two pences from such Office be assayed and tryed for their Weight and ffineness and an Account be taken of the Tale in the manner hereinafter prescribed And that he the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assigns shall and may at his and their own Wills and pleasures from time to time during the said Term after the said half pence pence and two pences shall have been so assayed and tryed for their Weight and ffineness and an Account taken of their Tale as aforesaid Transport and Convey or cause the same to be transported and Conveyed unto the said Islands Dominions or Territories belohging or to belong to his Majestie his heirs or successors in America or any of them and shall and may utter and disperse them to his and their best advantage and profit to pass

and be received as Current money by such as shall be Willing to receive the same Within the said Islands Dominions and Territories or any of them and not elsewhere And the said William Wood for himselfe his Executors Administrators and Assignes doth Covenant promise and Grant to and with our said Sovereign lord his heires and Successors by these presents That he the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes shall and will make the said half pence pence and Two pences of such fine Metal or Composiçõ as aforesaid When the same shall be cast into Barrs or fillets and which when heated red hot will spread thin under the hammer without Cracking and shall and will out of the same Coyn the said Two pences pence and half pence of such a bigness that thirty Two pences sixty pence and one hundred and twenty half pence may weigh sixteen ounces Averdupoiz being allowed a Remedy as aforesaid and shall and will when any Quantity of such money shall be Coyned permit and suffer such person or persons as the Commissioners of the Treasury of his Maisty his heires and Successors for the time being shall in Writing under their or his hands or hand from time to time or at any time or times Constitute and appoint to mix the same in an heap and to assay the same by Counting out Thirty Two pences Sixty pence or One hundred and Twenty half pence and there by to Estimate the value of the whole heap and of every part thereof according to its Weight and shall and will permit and suffer such person or persons to be appointed to assay such half pence and Two pences in fineness by taking some peices of the money heating them red hot and battering them to see if they will spread thin under the hammer and shall and will permit and suffer such Person or Persons as the said Commissioners of the Treasury or the high Treasurer for the time being shall by any Warrant or Warrants from time to time constitute and appoint to see the said mixed Metal or Composiçõ in Barrs or fillets for making the said money from time to time and to keep an Account of the severall Parcels thereof and shall and will permit and suffer such Person or Persons to see the Assays performed and the money Weighed and to take one or more peices out of every parcell of money assayed to be kept in a Box under his or their key and a key of the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes to be tryed annually in Weight and fineness before whom the said Commissioners of the Treasury or the high Treasurer for the time being shall appoint And it is hereby declared and agreed that the Person or Persons to be appointed as afforesaid for assaying or trying the said mixt metal or Composiçõ and the small moneys to be made thereof and taking the Tale of such monies shall be and be called the king's Clerk and

Comptroller of the Coynage of the halfe pence pence and two pences to be Coynd for the Service of the Islands Dominions and Territories belonging or to belong to his Majestie his heirs or Successors in America and may be impowered to Execute such Trust by himself or themselves his or their sufficient Deputy or Deputies from time to time And the said William Wood for himselfe his Executors Administrators and Assignes Doth hereby Covenant and agree at his and their own proper Costs and Charges to allow and pay to such Comptroller for the time being a Salary after the rate of Two hundred pounds per Annum to be paid Quarterly at the four usual ffeasts in the year by equal porçons during his continuance in the said Trust and to be Computed and paid by the day for any broken part of a Quarter in Which such Deputy or Deputies shall execute the same Trust Provided nevertheless That in Case the said Commissioners of the Treasury or the high Treasurer for the time being shall not constitute and appoint a Person or Persons to Assay and take Account of the said mixt Metal or Composiçõn or of the small monies to be made therewith as aforesaid or in case of the Death of such Person or Persons that shall be appointed The said William Wood his Executors Administrators or Assignes shall not be molested hindered or deprived of the benefit of making and coyning the said half pence and Two pences but shall and may proceed therein in manner aforementioned So as the said William Wood his Executors. Administrators or Assignes or his or their Agent or Agents make Oath if required of the Quantity and Goodness of the said halfe pence pence and Two pences and of the Metal or Composiçõn whereof the same shall have been made And it is his Majesties will and pleasure And he doth by these presents for himselfe his heires and Successors Grant and Authorize and appoint That the said halfe pence pence and Two pences of such mixt metal or Composiçõn as aforesaid shall and may be made and Coynd with Engines or Instruments having on the one side the Effigies or Portraiture With the name or Title of his Majestie his heirs or Successors and on the other side the ffigure of a Crown With the Word America and the year of our lord and any other marks or Addiçõns as may be proper or the said Engines or Instruments for Coyning the said half pence pence and Two pences may have any other Inscripçõns as by any Warrant or Warrants to be obtained under the Royal Sign Manual of his Majestie his heirs or Successors shall be allowed and approved And that the said half pence and Two pences being made and coynd as aforesaid shall pass and be Generally vsed between Man and Man or between any persons that shall and will voluntarily and willingly and not otherwise pay and receive the same as Tokens or peices of and for the respective values

of half pence pence and Two pences of money of Great Britain With the customary allowance for Exchange within the said Islands Dominions and Territories belonging or to belong to his Majestie his heires or Successors in America or any of them and not elsewhere And to the intent the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes may have and obtain the full benefit and profit intended vnto him and them by this present Grant his Majestie doth by these presents for himselfe his heires and Successors strictly prohibit and forbid all and every person and persons Whatsoever (other than the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes and his and their Servants Workmen and Assignes before menõned) to make Coyne or Counterfeit such half pence Pence or Two pences of such mixt Metal or Composiõn as aforesaid or of any other Metal or Composiõn Whatsoever or to make or vse any Engines or Instruments for the making of any Two pences Pence or halfe pence to pass or go within his Majesties said Islands Dominions and Territories or any of them or to Import or bring into the said Islands Dominions or Territories or any of them from any his Majesties Dominions or from any fforeign parts to be vttered vended or dispersed in the said Island Dominions and Territories or any of them any Two pences Pence or half pence or any Engines or Instruments for making of the same at any time or times during the said Term of fourteen yeares vnder pain of incurring his Majesties Displeasure and such Corporal Pecuniary or other Punishments as by law may be inflicted upon any such Person or Persons in such Case or Cases Offending And his Majestie doth by these presents for himselfe his heires and Successor Give and Grant unto the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes full power and Authority so far as his Majestie can lawfully Grant That the said William Wood his Executors Administrators or Assignes by himselfe or themselves or by his or their Deputy or Deputies for Whom he or they will be Answerable from time to time and at all times during the said Term Granted (taking a Constable or other Officer to his or their Assistance) and in the Day time shall or may enter into any Ship vessell house or other place Within the said Islands Dominions and Territories belonging or to belong to his Majestie his heires or Successors in America Where he or they may reasonably suspect that any Counterfeit half pence pence or Two pences are or shall be made or are or shall be brought or imported from any other of his Majesties Dominions or from any fforeign parts and by all lawfull Ways and means to search for the same and vpon finding of any such Counterfeit half pence pence or Two pences or any Tools or Instruments for making thereof to Arrest seize carry away detain and keep such

Counterfeit half pence Pence and Two pences Instruments and Tools to the proper vse and behoofe of him the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes Without any Account to be therefore rendered to his Majestie his heires or Successors for the same To have hold Exercise and Enjoy all and Singular the aforesaid Powers liberties priviledges lycences Grants Authorities and other the premisses vnto the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes from the ffeast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary one thousand seven hundred Twenty two unto the full end and Term of fourteen yeares from thence next Ensueing and fully to be compleat and ended yeilding and paying therefore And the said William Wood for himself his Executors Administrators and Assignes doth hereby Covenant promise and Grant to and with his Majestie his heires and Successors at the Receipt of the Exchequer of his Majestie his heires and Successors the yearly Rent or Summe of one hundred pounds (over and above the Comptrollers Salary before menconed) at two of the most usual ffeasts or days of payment in the year that is to say at the ffeast of St. Michael the Archangel and the Annunciacon of the Blessed Virgin Mary by even and equal Porcons The first payment thereof to begin and be made at the ffeast of Saint Michael the Archangel next ensueing the date hereof Provided always and these presents are and shall be vpon this express Condicon That if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent or Summe of one hundred pounds to be behind and vnpaid in part or in the Whole by the space of Thirty days after any of the said ffeasts or Days of payment on which the same ought to be paid as aforesaid That then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawfull to and for his Majestie his heires and Successors by any Instrument vnder his or their Royall Signe Manual to revoke determine and make void these presents and all and every the Powers benefits and Advantages thereby Granted to the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding And further his Majestie for the Consideracons aforesaid hath Given and Granted And by these presents for himself his heires and Successors of his more Special Grace certain knowledge and meer mocon Doth Give and Grant vnto the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes all such Profit Gains benefit Benefits Emoluments and Advantages as shall from time to time be made gotten obtained or raised by the making Issuing uttering or vending of the said half pence Pence and Two pences which during the said Term of fourteen years are hereby authorized to be made transported vttered vended and dispersed as aforesaid The same to be had taken and received by him the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes to

his and their only vse and behoof Without any account or other matter or thing (other than the said yearly Sume of one hundred pounds to be therefore rendered to his Majesty his heires or Successors and other than the said Salary to be paid to the said Comptroller as aforesaid) And the said William Wood for himself his Executors Administrators and Assignes doth Covenant promise and Grant to and with his Majestie his heires and Successors by these presents That he the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes shall and will at his and their own proper Costs and Charges from time to time during the said Term in pursuance of the Powers Granted to him and them as aforesaid make and Coyn or Cause to be made and Coyned and Transported into the said Islands Dominions and Territories belonging or to belong to his Majestie his heires or Successors in America or some of them and to be vttered and vended there as aforesaid at or under the respective values as aforesaid such and so many Two pences pence and half pence of such mixt metal or Composiçõ as aforesaid of the goodness and bigness and of the form before mençoned as shall be sufficient for the use and accomodaçõ of the Subiects of his Majestie his heires and Successors in those parts in and for the Change of their small moneys and in relaçõ as their retailing Trade and other Comerce and business in Which the Subiects of the Crown of Great Britain there shall or may have occasion to vse them But not to exceed in any one year the Quantities before mençoned And further That the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes shall and will from time to time in the making *the making* the said Two pences Pence and half pence in England and in Transporting the same from time to time to the said Islands Dominions or Territories in America or any of them and in vttering vending disposeing or dispersing the same there and in all his and their Doings Accounts concerning the same submit himselfe and themselves to the Inspecçõ Examinaçõ Order and Comptroll of his Majestie his heires and Successors and of his and their Comissioners of the Treasury and high Treasurer for the time being and of such Person or Persons as shall be appointed as afore said And our said Sovereign lord for himselfe his heires and Successors doth hereby Covenant promise and Grant to and with the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes That he said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assignes paying the Rent and performing the Covenants herein reserved and contained on his and their part and behalf to be paid done and performed shall and may peaceably and quietly have hold and enioy all the Powers Authorities Priviledges lycences Profits and Advantages and all other matters and things hereby Granted and every part thereof for and during the said

term of fourteen years Without any let Suit Trouble Molestaçõn or Denyal of his Majesty his heires or Successors or of or by any of his Majesties or their Officers or Ministers or any Person or Persons Claiming or to Claim any lawful Power or Right by from or under his Majesty his heires or Successors Provided always that if the said William Wood within six Months after the making hereof Doth not give good and sufficient Security to his Majestie his heires or Successors for the payment of the said yearly Rent hereby reserved and for the performance of all the Covenants Clauses and Agreements herein contained on his and their parts and behoof to be done and performed (Which Security is to be such as the Cõmissioners of the Treasury or any three or more of them or the high Treasurer for the time being of his Majestie his heires or Successors shall approve Then all and every the Grants hereby made to the said William Wood his Executors Administrators and Assigns shall cease determine and be vtterly void any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding And his Maiestie doth hereby for himselfe his heires and Successors Will Require and Covenant All and every the Governours Deputy Governours and all the Persons Who are or shall be entrusted With the Care or Administraçõn of the Government in all and every or any of the said Islands Dominions or Territories belonging or to belong to his Maiesties his heires or Successors in America and all Judges Justices and other Officers and Ministers Whatsoever of his Maiestie his heires or Successors in Great Britain or in the said Islands Dominions or Territories in America or elsewhere to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood his Executors and Assignes in the Execuçõn of all or any of the Powers Authorities Direcçõns matters and things to be executed by him or them or for his or their benefit and Advantage by virtue or in Pursuance of these presents in all things as becometh In Witness &c whereof our selfe at Westminster the Twelfth day of July.

By Writt of Privy Seal".

In addition to the patent we find a paper entitled

"Mr Wood Lycence.

"A Lycence unto William Wood of Wolverhampton in the county of Stafford Esq^{re} his Extors Adm^{rs} and Assigns to Coyn or make at his and their own propper Costs and charges at Some Publick Office within the City of London or Suberbs thereof or such other place as shall be approved by his Maj^{ties} Cõmissioners of the Treasury or High Trearer for the time being to be provided from time to time


by the Said William Wood his Extr^{rs} Adm^{rs} or Assigns any Number or Quantity of Tokens or Pieces of a certain Mixt Metall or Composition as in the Bill Described to go for halfe-pence, Pence, and Two pences to be from time to time after the Coyning thereof Transported or Carryed into His Maj^{ties} Islands Dominions and Territories in America or Some of them, and to be uttered and Dispersed there, and not else where during the Terme of Fourteen years to Commence from Lady Day 1722 Under the Yearly Rent of £100 and paying a Yearly Sallary of £200 to His Maj^{ties} Comptroller during the Said Term Provided that every Such Office for Coyning Such halfe-pence Pence and Twopences (before any Such Coyning) be Notified by the Said William Wood his Extr^{rs} Adm^{rs} or Assigns in the London Gazette and by a Writing to be openly affixed upon the Royal Exchange in London. And also that the whole Number or Quantity to be Coyned by Virtue of this His Maj^{ties} Lycence do not exceed in the said whole Term the Quantity to be made of 300 Tons of the said mixt metal or composition and such other Provisoos et in Oibus ut ante."



THE SPANISH DOLLAR FOR THE WEST INDIES PI. I.

THE SPANISH DOLLAR AS ADAPTED FOR CURRENCY IN OUR WEST INDIAN COLONIES.

BY J. B. CALDECOTT.

HE monetary systems of the British Possessions in the West Indies form a most interesting chapter in the history of currency; a chapter that embraces many mediums of exchange, that is fertile in experiments, that comprises many strange expedients and perhaps more than its due share of errors and of failures.

Numismatologists are often accused of a certain want of breadth in their studies; but the history of the currency of our West Indian colonies is full of interest both from financial and numismatic stand-points, and the future historian must be able to deal with it from both these points of view.

Our older colonies in this quarter of the globe have passed through the various stages of barter, of metallic mediums, and of paper currencies, and in the second of these stages have used gold, silver and copper both at their intrinsic and at token values; also, whilst allowing circulation to the coinages of many nations, they have been singularly destitute of any special issues of their own. Chief amongst these foreign coins have been those of Spain, and it is with the use of the Spanish dollar in our West Indian Possessions that this short and, in the present state of our knowledge, necessarily incomplete account deals.

Situated as these islands were, surrounded by the American possessions of Spain—the resort alike of those who carried on commerce with these possessions, and of buccaneers who, as occasion

offered, preyed upon them and their ships; it was natural that the Spanish dollar and its fractions should form a large portion of their silver circulating medium. How great a part these coins have played and still play (in the form of Mexican dollars) in the currencies of the world, is perhaps not fully appreciated by many; but there are few portions of the globe that have not at one time or the other felt their influence.

Among the few books at present available to those interested in these currencies, the first place must be given to that admirable work by Mr. Robert Chalmers, *A History of Currency in the British Colonies*,¹ which is a model of painstaking research among our somewhat scanty colonial records, and must ever remain invaluable to their student; whilst the coinage of those islands which were formerly French possessions has been dealt with in the same spirit by M. Zay in his *Histoire Monétaire des Colonies Françaises*,² and it is to these books primarily that the writer must acknowledge his indebtedness.

All through the enquiry one fact prominently stands out, and that is the gradual depreciation of the local or "Island" currency in transactions with the outer world, a depreciation that kept deepening until in extreme cases £250 in local currency was only equal to £100 sterling. The necessity of importing most articles of apparel or of consumption, the drain upon the resources of the islands caused by the large sums remitted as interest upon money advanced by home capitalists, and the demands of absentee proprietors, were the primary causes of this depreciation; but these only affect our present enquiry in so far as in them lay the origin of what may be termed the "ear-marking" of the Spanish dollar, an expedient used to prevent the constant exportation of all specie from the islands, and to restrict its currency only within their boundaries. With the circulation of these coins in their original state we are not now concerned, but only with them when they are specially marked, pierced, or divided; methods of identification which may be comprised under the three following heads:—

¹ Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893.

² Paris: I. Montorier, 1892.

1. The countermarking of the dollar and its fractions.
2. The removal from their centres of a portion that usually circulated as a separate coin.
3. The cutting of the coins into sections with the view of providing small change, each of which portions circulated separately.

Most of the existing examples will fall naturally into one or another of these three classes, though we may find cases in which the various methods are combined upon the same piece.

As previously hinted, the necessity for thus rendering the coins useless for circulation elsewhere, and, if possible, for providing that no others besides those sanctioned by Government should be circulated, arose from the gradual depreciation of the local currency and the consequent divorce between the metal and current values of the coins, by which they became mere tokens, a depreciation which will be better understood by a reference to the table of some of the more prominent variations in the local values of the dollar between 1700 and 1825 to be found at the close of this paper.

The Spanish dollar or "piece of eight"—a name that conjures up one's youthful memories of tales of daring on the Spanish Main—was divided, as its name implies, into eight reals. But this division was upset at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the issue, during the Wars of Succession, of the pistareen, a piece which, though nominally of the value of two reals, was intrinsically worth only one-fifth of the dollar, thus making the usual rating in the West Indies, until late in the eighteenth century, ten reals to the dollar, the real, which was spoken of as a "Bit" (or "Bitt" as it was sometimes spelt) being of the value in some islands of $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in others of $9d.$ The raising of the dollar in value was accomplished by increasing the number of "Bits" to the dollar, the amount for which the Bit passed usually remaining unaltered.

In endeavouring to assign the coins to their various islands, it seems best to deal with them in their probable order of issue, and not under their localities, for the records of their use are in some cases wanting, and references exist to other types that appear so far to

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have escaped collectors. The list given does not in any way claim to be exhaustive, and it is published in the hope that many additions to it may be brought to light by a deeper study of what is a somewhat obscure group of coins.

Before dealing with the coins themselves, a word of warning as to fabrications may not be out of place, for, although the existence of such is noticed by M. Zay in a note on pp. 201 and 221 of his work, several of them have recently brought high prices at Continental sales. It is fortunate that they may be easily identified by anyone well acquainted with this series, but it may not be wise to further enlighten their fabricators upon the points in which they differ from the genuine specimens.

A test that has not perhaps received sufficient attention from those few writers who have attempted to classify these pieces, is that of the original dates of issue upon those coins which have been marked and divided. It is self-evident that this marking or division must be of later date than that which the coin bears, whilst on the other hand this date of itself gives no certain evidence of the time at which it passed into circulation in the islands; but, in those cases where records of their issue are available, an examination of a number of the pieces will show that the majority of them are dated within a few years of their local authorization. Only the rarity of many of the pieces has prevented a more extended use of this method of enquiry.

Dealing now with those pieces of the genuine currency that have come under the writer's notice, it may be well to first refer to a series of dollars, two, one and half real pieces from the centre of which a heart-shaped portion has been removed. See Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

These perforations are of three shapes:—



1.

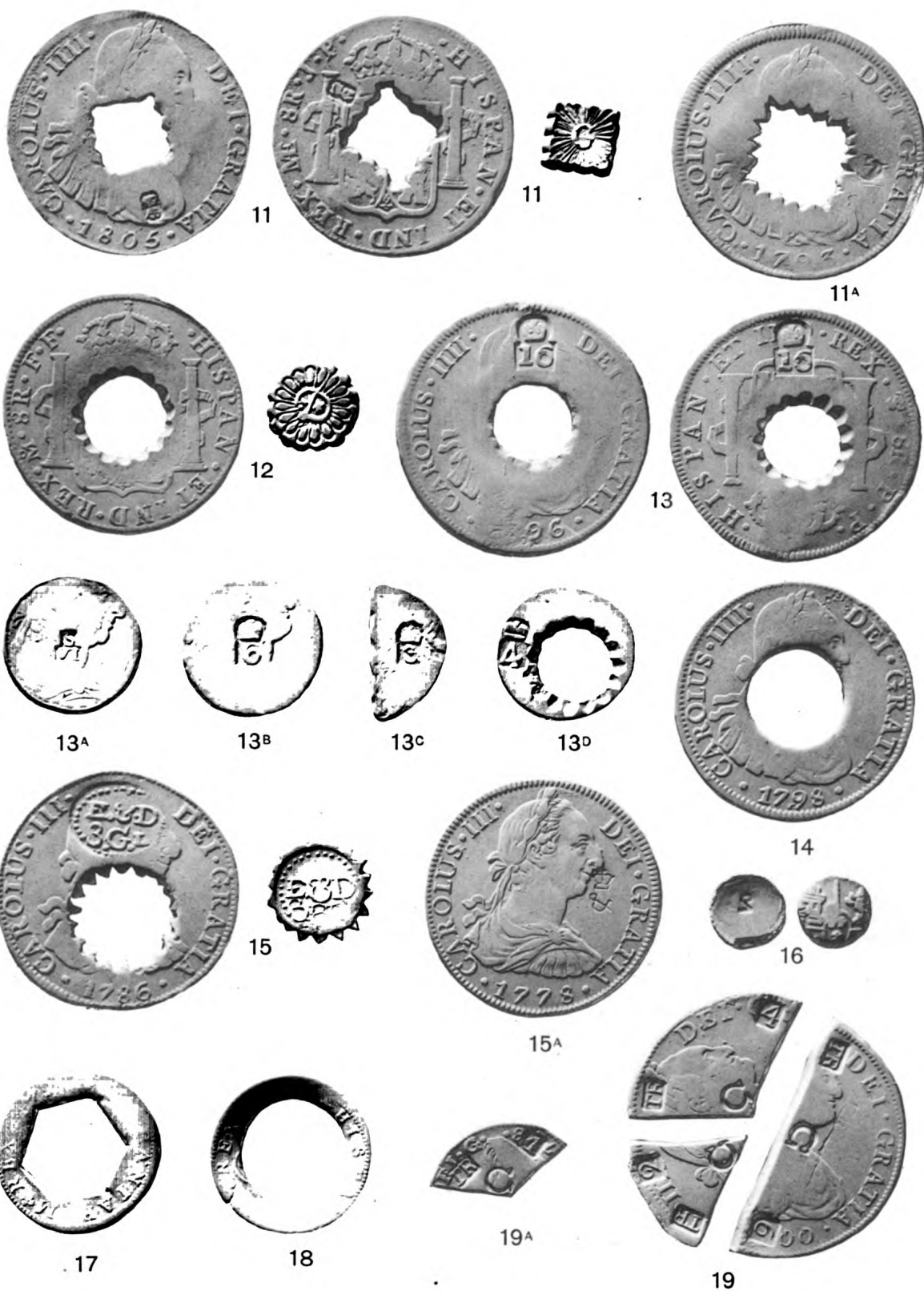


2.



3.

They may thus be divided into three distinct classes, and in the cases of Nos. 1 and 3 the edges of the hole have been ornamented with a border in order to detect the subsequent removal of any more metal.



THE SPANISH DOLLAR FOR THE WEST INDIES PI. II.

These coins are noticed by Zay (p. 214) and assigned by him to the French Colony of Martinique; but he admits that he can find no record of their issue, and founds his assignment of them to this island upon a statement that they formerly circulated there. So far as the investigations for the purposes of this paper have resulted, it would, however, seem that the practice of forming what were called "ring dollars," was one that was entirely confined to British Possessions, and was only adopted in some of the French islands during the periods when they were temporarily occupied by Britain.

The same remark practically applies to the practice of cutting the dollar and its fractions into portions for the purpose of providing small change, as this method (with the above-mentioned exception) was only copied in some of the Dutch West Indies long after its introduction by ourselves, or in those islands, such as St. Martin, which from their position naturally came under British commercial influence.

The dates upon these dollars with heart-shaped perforations that have come under personal observation are as follows :—

Of class No. 1, 1743; of class No. 2, 1744, and of class No. 3, 1745, 1756 (three specimens). Probably, therefore, classes Nos. 1 and 2 preceded No. 3 in date of issue, and the larger perforation of No. 3 marked a change in the value of this ring dollar. This change would appear to have been made soon after the last quoted date, as these last-mentioned specimens are practically uncirculated.

A copper coin recently acquired by the writer may throw some light upon their place of issue. It is a farthing of William and Mary, and is countermarked with a heart-shaped depression similar in shape to No. 2, having within it the letters I.B. above a small heart. See No. 2A. We may almost assume that these letters stand for "Island of B——," and if we fill in the last word as "Barbadoes," it may account for the presence of the perforated dollars in the neighbouring island of Martinique, assuming that the statement quoted by M. Zay is to be accepted.

Zay figures (p. 214, No. 50) a heart-shaped piece of silver which has probably been removed from the centre of one of these dollars;

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but, as this apparently bears no countermark, it does not help us in locating its place of issue.

Of that which is probably the next issue in point of date we have full records, and the coins are countermarked upon both sides with a floriated G.R. within a sunk circle.

Of these we find dollars, No. 4, half-dollars, and two, one, and half-real pieces, Nos. 4A-D, issued in Jamaica under an Act of 1758,¹ which attempted to stop the draining away of silver coin to the neighbouring colonies, and also endeavoured to fix the rate at which it was to circulate. The dollar was ordered to pass current for 6s. 8d., and the other pieces in proportion; quarter reals to circulate at 2½d., are mentioned in the Act; but no such coins have hitherto come within the writer's knowledge.

There are also dollars, No. 5, countermarked upon the obverse only with the letters *S.R.* in script characters surmounted by a crown, within an oval indent, and others bearing similar but rougher characters within a square indent, No. 6, which though they probably circulated in Jamaica, cannot at present be definitely assigned to that island.

The first of these countermarks occurs on dollars of the dates 1811, 1813, and 1818, and the second on one of 1806.

The next to be mentioned is a dollar countermarked with the letters T P. beneath a crown which at first sight is difficult of attribution. It is probable, however, that the die used has cracked or broken, the tail of the R being thus obliterated—as was certainly the cause of a similar error in the case of some copper coins intended to be stamped with G.R.—and that this dollar was intended for circulation in Trinidad. No. 7.

Returning to those dollars from which a central portion has been removed we find the following:—

A dollar with octagonal piercing, but without countermark. The centre cut from this is marked on one side only with the letter T, and specimens occur of dollars thus treated of 1786, 1793, and 1797. As the same form of letter always occurs upon the Cayenne sous

¹ Chalmers, p. 102.

countermarked for Tobago, there can be little hesitation in assigning the pieces to that island. No. 8.

There is also a centre stamped with a similar letter, but of hexagonal shape, No. 9. The dollar forming the ring for this has, however, not been met with during these researches.

A dollar pierced with a circular hole with thirteen crenelles but without countermark, the centre from it being marked on one side only with a script *J* within rays; which we may safely assign to Trinidad. One specimen only of this dollar has come under observation, the date of which is 1794. No. 10.

A dollar pierced with a square hole with twelve crenelles and countermarked upon both sides with the letter G under a crown, No. 11. The centre from this dollar is stamped with a G radiated, No. 11. These pieces were issued in 1811, during the English occupation of Guadaloupe, and passed current for nine livres and twenty sous respectively. See also No. 11A.

Zay (p. 196, No. 7) figures a piece formed by dividing one of these ring dollars into four by cutting it at the four angles of the perforation, which pieces were countermarked on one side twice with a crowned G.

A dollar with a circular perforation with fifteen crenelles and without countermark, the centre from which bears a script *Q* enclosing a star, all within a border of rays. No. 12. These dollars were issued for Dominica under a Council Minute of the 14th September, 1798.¹

There is also a dollar with a piercing similar to the last but countermarked with the figures 16 beneath a crown within a shaped indent. No. 13. This was also issued in Dominica and bears a relation to the following pieces :—

No. 13A. Centre of a dollar stamped ^sVI in indent.

13B. Similar centre stamped 6 beneath a crown in indent.

13C. Half of a similar centre stamped 3 beneath a crown in indent.

13D. Centre similar to Nos. 13A–B from which a portion corresponding to centre of No. 12 has been removed, and the ring marked 4 beneath a crown.

¹ Chalmers, p. 73.

These four pieces all belong to Dominica and the four-bit piece forms the connecting link between them, fixing as it does the unpierced pieces of six bits as being issued in that island, and determining the value of the portion extracted to be two bits.

Applying this valuation to the ring dollar marked 16, we find that it passed as a whole for eighteen bits, and this agrees with the valuation of the other pieces, as the six-bit pieces are approximately a third of the dollar, and their rings (of which hitherto a specimen has escaped this search) probably passed for twelve bits. The Proclamation of 1862, which demonetised the "cut money" in Dominica, speaks of ring dollars and six-bit pieces.¹

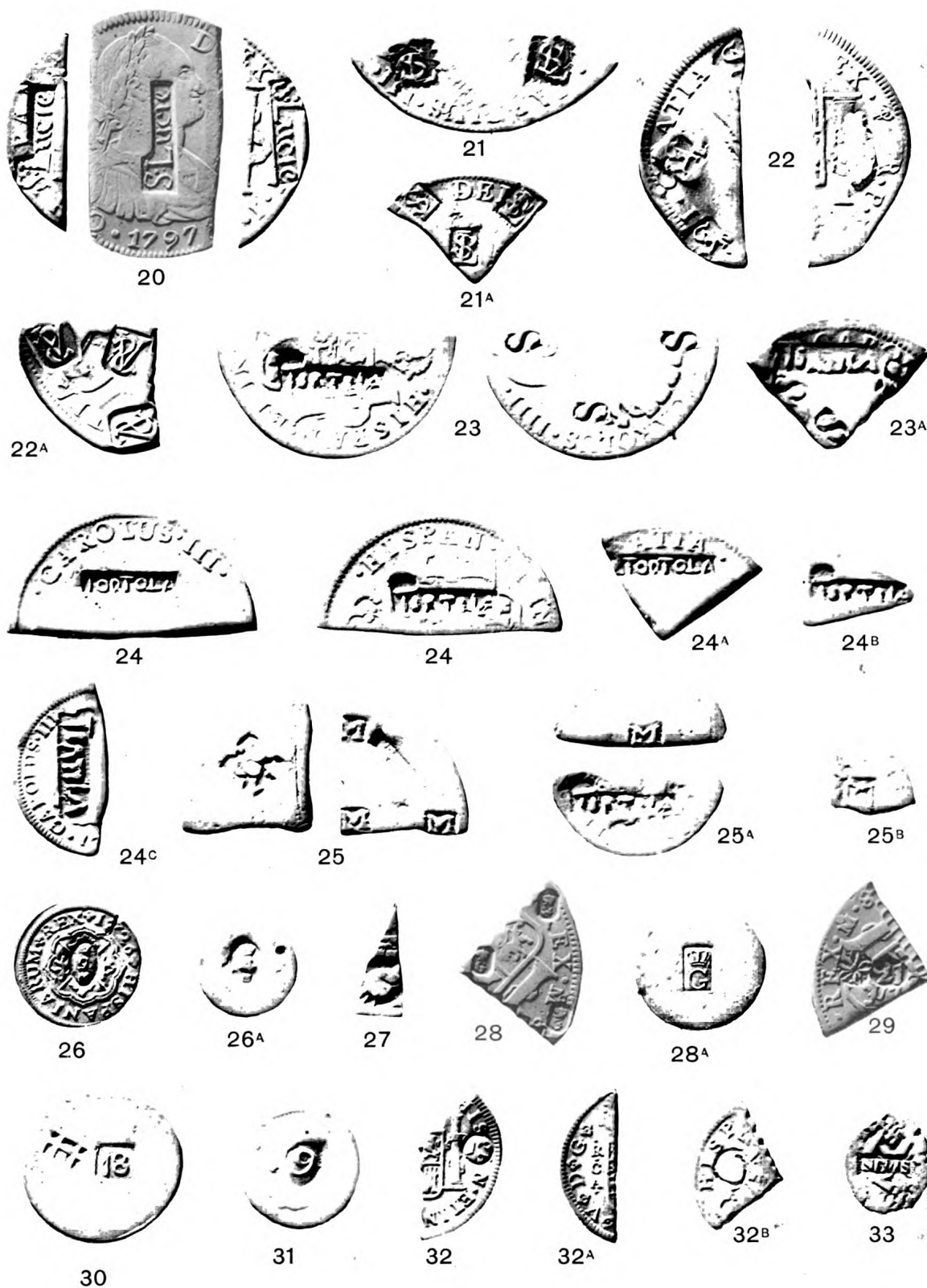
At first twelve, and later thirteen, were the numbers of bits at which the un mutilated dollar was current, and the whole issue is a good example of how the cut and pierced dollars became entirely disassociated from even the nominal value of the dollar itself, and were mere tokens. These pieces attain the high water-mark of over-valuation in the series with which we are now dealing. An instance of valuation at similar rates is however quoted (Chalmers, p. 85) as occurring in the neighbouring island of St. Vincent, though the writer has so far failed to identify the coins there described.

The next specimen is a dollar from which a plain circular piece has been punched; it is without countermark and at present unassigned. No. 14. Here we may notice a dollar pierced with a circular hole with seventeen points and countermarked E. & D. 3 GL within an oval indent, No. 15. This circulated in the colony of Essequibo and Demerara for three guilders or twelve bits, whilst the portion extracted (which was stamped E. & D. 3-Bts.) passed for three bits. The unpierced dollar was valued at twelve bits and the issue probably took place in 1801. Compare also No. 15A.²

Before leaving the subject of pierced dollars, there may be mentioned a small circular portion removed from the centre of one of these coins which is stamped on the reverse with a reversed numeral 2. No. 16. Until the ring of this is found it is not possible to further identify it.

¹ Chalmers, p. 79.

² As to this coin see p. 410 *post*.



THE SPANISH DOLLAR FOR THE WEST INDIES

PI. III.


The same remarks apply to Nos. 17 and 18, which are pistareens from which most of the centre has been removed.

Having dealt with the cases in which the dollar has been pierced, we now come to those, perhaps more legitimate, experiments whereby the coin and its fractions were cut up into portions to provide small change. In this class we do not meet with so much over-valuation as in the other, and the practice has the authority of many precedents in our own country during the Saxon and Norman periods of our history.

The object in view was probably to provide a money that would remain within the island that authorised it, and also supersede the pistareen, which, from its baseness and consequently low intrinsic value as compared with the dollar, formed the major portion of the current silver. The dollar and its fractions were cut up in almost every imaginable way, and under this system there was great temptation to divide the coin into more than its proper number of pieces.

No. 19 is a good example of the cut dollar, as the coin has been divided into half, third, and sixth parts, which have been counter-marked with the letters T.R. for Trinidad, and the numerals 6, 4 and 2 respectively, denoting the numbers of bits for which they passed current. The one-bit piece has been made by dividing the pistareen into three parts and is similarly stamped T.R. and 1. No. 19A.

These pieces were evidently, in the first instance, stamped for Trinidad, but have afterwards been impressed (at what was the centre of the original coin) with the letter G for Grenada.

Upon the acquisition of St. Lucia the dollar replaced the French livre, and was divided into irregularly sized portions by cutting off a piece from each side of it, leaving the central part to pass for nine bits, or six livres five sous, whilst each of the others was current for three bits, or two livres five sous. They were stamped with the word S^t Lucie in an indent, and the values quoted were reduced by one-ninth in 1817. No. 20. The dollar was also divided into halves, thirds, and quarters, the thirds, being stamped twice with the monogram  and the others three times. Nos. 21 and 21A.

For St. Vincent the dollar was divided into three portions, and

also into halves and quarters, each stamped three times with the monograms **S** and **S**. Nos. 22 and 22A.

There are also halves, quarters and eighths of dollars with the letter S thrice stamped upon them. Nos. 23 and 23A. These pieces were probably struck for the Saints, two of the Leeward Islands.

But the specimens of cut money which are most frequently met with are those bearing the name of TORTOLA. Nos. 24 and 24A-C. They were made by order of the Assembly of the Virgin Islands in 1801, and remained in circulation there until 1889, a fact that accounts for their common appearance. Of these we find halves No. 24, quarters and eighths, No. 24B, of dollars, and halves of pistareens, No. 24C, and reals. These comprise at least three varieties of lettering.

Many pieces first issued for other islands have been again stamped TORTOLA, and amongst these the writer has found a cut quarter of a dollar stamped thrice with the letter M for Montserrat, No. 25, and there are also halves, and quarters, of pistareens stamped with a single M for the same island. Nos. 25A-B.

Pistareens, reals and half-reals marked with M and a crown and also the numerals 18, 9, and 4, respectively, Zay claims (p. 215) these as being issued during the English occupation of Martinique in 1798. Nos. 26 and 26A. As however these countermarks appear upon coins considerably earlier than this date, and especially upon an unworn real of 1728, in the writer's possession, this attribution seems very unlikely. Upon the other hand, values of eighteen, nine and fourpence agree with the ratings of these coins in Montserrat in the middle of the eighteenth century, and it is to this island we should now assign them.

A three-cornered segment, called a twelfth of a dollar and stamped with a large and deep G is attributed by Zay (p. 195) to Guadaloupe. No. 27. Chalmers (p. 82) has, however, fortunately recorded an Act of Grenada of 1787, which speaks of this coin as being the eleventh of a dollar and passing current there at ninepence, thus settling the question for us.

The attribution of the quarter dollar with crenated edge and three stamps of the crowned G, No. 28, and also No. 28A, to the English occupation of Guadaloupe is probably correct.

The following may have had circulation in one or other of the islands but they bear no special marks of identification.

Quarter of a dollar stamped with the numerals 21 and a five-petaled flower, which probably passed (at a seven shilling rating of the dollar) for twenty-one pence. No. 29.

Nos. 30 and 31 are a pistareen stamped with the numeral 18 within a square indent and a real with the figure 9 within a heart-shaped indent. The values of eighteen-pence and nine-pence for these coins applied to several islands.

There is also a fifth of a dollar stamped thrice with a large 2, that must have circulated in one of the islands which adopted the basis of ten bits to the dollar; probably in the Leewards.

A few silver coins occur stamped for the island of Nevis; of these sixpences and half livre pieces have been met with bearing a counter-mark similar to No. 33, which has been cut from the centre of a thin coin difficult to identify.

There are also several cut portions of the pistareen of various shapes, some stamped with annulets, and others without any distinguishing mark, Nos. 32 and 32A-B. These cannot at present be definitely located.

The series as a whole presents certain difficulties of identification; but I trust that a more careful study of the subject may assign examples about which there is at present a doubt, and also bring to light specimens of the issues of which notices exist; but of which I have not as yet met with examples.

I have been careful to describe only those examples that I have myself seen, and of the genuineness of which I think there can be no doubt; I therefore trust that this may be the means of arousing a wider interest in a class of coins that is in its conception practically unique, that has been largely confined to our own Empire, and that presents many interesting problems of the currency, not the least impressive of which is the exposure of the futility of expecting to gain riches by decreeing that money shall pass for an increased amount, without in any way raising its intrinsic value.

A TABLE
Showing the Ratings of the Spanish Dollar in Island Currencies, 1700-1825.

	Jamaica.	Barbadoes.	Tobago.	Trinidad.	Leeward Islands.					Windward Islands.			Bermudas.	Bahamas.	Guadaloupe. (Temporary).	British Guiana.	Martinique. (Temporary).	
					St. Kitts.	Antigua.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	Dominica.	Virgin Islands	Grenada.	St. Vincent.	St. Lucia.					
1704	5/0	—	—	—	6/0	6/0	6/0	6/0	—	—	—	—	—	6/0	5/0	—	—	—
1707-22	6/3	—	—	—	7/0	7/0	7/0	7/0	—	—	—	—	—	6/8	6/3	—	—	—
1739	—	6/0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1740	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1750	—	—	—	—	—	—	10 bits	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6/8	—	—	—
1758	6/8	—	—	—	7/6	7/6	7/6	7/6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1763	—	—	—	—	8/3	8/3	8/3	8/3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1773	6/6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11 bits 8/3	11 bits 8/3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1787	6/8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8/0	—	—	11 bits 8/3
1788	—	10 bits 6/3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1791	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 bits	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 bits 9/0
1798	—	—	—	9 bits	9/0	9/0	9/0	9/0	9/0	11 bits 8/3	9/0	9/0	—	—	—	12 bits or 3 guilders	—	—
1801	—	—	—	9 bits 9/0	—	—	—	—	—	8/3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1804	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13 10/6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1811	6/8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 bits 9/0	—	—	—	—	—
1814	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13 bits 9/9	—	—	—	—	—
1817	—	6/3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10/0	10/0	10/0	6/8	—	—	—	—
1818	—	—	—	10 bits 10/0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1825	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTES ON THE PRIVATE TOKENS, THEIR ISSUERS AND DIE-SINKERS.

BY S. H. HAMER.

IN introducing this subject for consideration, I shall briefly trace the origin of the token coinage of Great Britain and Ireland.

In consequence of the neglect of the Government to provide an adequate supply of a suitable medium of exchange and also because what regal money was in circulation had been extensively and fraudulently imitated, the Parys Mines Company, of Anglesey, and John Wilkinson, the eminent ironmaster, reverted to a seventeenth century custom, and issued copper tokens ; the former issued some 260 tons of penny, and about 60 tons of halfpenny tokens, weighing respectively, one ounce and nearly half an ounce each, and the latter several tons of halfpenny tokens.

These provincial coins were such an advantage in the matter of change, that many other traders in all parts of the country began to issue their tokens ; but, as the custom was carried to an unwarrantable extent, what was at first a decided advantage, became a nuisance, and with the year 1797, the tokens were cried down, and the Government, through Messrs. Boulton and Watt, issued a plentiful and standard coinage of twopenny and penny pieces, weighing two ounces and one ounce respectively.

During the token period, many persons began to collect these novel and interesting specimens, with the result that several series of tokens were struck specially to supply collectors ; some of these may have been used as currency, but such was not the object in issuing them.

With these introductory remarks, I pass on to the subject of this paper, viz., "The private tokens," with such information in reference to the issuers, the die-sinkers, and the places or buildings depicted thereon, as I have been able to gather. The several authorities from which I have collected my information, are :—the index to Charles Pye's work published in 1801, on "Provincial Coins and Tokens ; the manuscript notes by the late Rev. W. R. Hay, M.A., Vicar of Rochdale, which notes appear in his interleaved copy of C. Pye's octavo edition, published in 1796 ; "The Virtuoso's Companion," published during 1795-6-7 ; "A descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between 1786 and 1796," by Samuel Birchall of Leeds ; *The Gentleman's Magazine* of contemporary dates ; a "Catalogue of Provincial Copper Coins, Tokens," etc., in the collection of Sir George Chetwynd, Bart., 1834, by Thomas Sharp of Coventry, afterwards of Leamington (Sir George issued this for private distribution, and only about sixty copies were printed), and the "Notes on Provincial Coins or Tokens" which appeared in *The Bazaar* between 1881 and 1889. To the information thus derived, I have added the results of my personal investigations.

In Sharp's Catalogue of Sir George Chetwynd's tokens, there is a list of names of issuers of private tokens, but this is not complete as, for example, it cannot be imagined that any issuer would order an impression in gold and a number in silver (in one instance, far more in silver than in copper) to be struck unless they were intended for private distribution. I am including such in this series, also those of which only a small number were struck, the issue, evidently, not being intended for currency.

Private tokens were originally issued, not for currency, nor for sale to collectors, but for exchange, or as gifts to interested friends ; and as the number issued was always small, they were highly prized. The idea appears to have originated with a coin collector, David Alves Rebello (possibly at the suggestion of J. Milton, the die-sinker). In 1795, Rebello issued what was known as a "Hackney promissory token," the work of the previously mentioned J. Milton, assistant medalist at the Royal Mint ; he, Milton, also carried on business as a

die-sinker on his own account at No. 3, Rolls Buildings, Fetter Lane, his salary at the Mint, about this time, being only £80 per year. Milton's work is always beautiful, the dies for this token being really works of art.

The Rev. W. R. Hay, M.A., Vicar of Rochdale, in his interleaved copy of C. Pye's "Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens," published in 1796, adds a manuscript note as follows:—"David Alves Rebello—a Jewish gentleman who lived at Hackney. These impressions are very scarce, very few indeed having been struck, and the dies broken; they were only given to his private friends. 'Tis curious that a Jew should have made choice of a parochial church for the design of one side of his token." He died May 24th, 1796. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that date appears the following:—"He was a great admirer of the works of art, particularly coins, of which he had made an elegant and judicious collection, as well as of minerals and botany." His name also appears in the *Universal British Directory* of 1790, as a merchant, at 25, St. Mary Axe.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX.

Rebello's token is described as follows:—

Obverse.—A view of Hackney Church, with a shield of arms above it. The die-sinker's initials, J. M., on the groundwork. The clock in the tower of the church indicates nine minutes past four.

Legend.—HACKNEY CHURCH. *Exergue*.—MCCXC.

Reverse.—The initials of the issuer, *DAR*, in ornamented script capitals, surmounted by a laurel wreath, below the initials, a palm branch and scuppern, or knife, crossed.

Legend.—HACKNEY PROMISSORY TOKEN. 1795.

Edge.—Plain in collar. Fig. 1.

Of this token, ten were struck in silver, and twenty-four in copper, some being bronzed. It was so much appreciated that after the death of the issuer, in 1796, a die-sinker named Jacobs, sank a pair of dies for an imitation of this token, and although his workmanship is inferior to that of Milton, impressions sold at the time for two shillings each. The clock in the tower on this token indicates twenty-five minutes to eleven.

Another token or medalet of penny size, bearing Rebello's name, is :—

Obverse.—A view of a church, grave-yard, and part of a house, clouds shown above the church.

Legend.—HACKNEY CHURCH. MCCXC. *Exergue*.—On an ornamented label, the die-sinker's name, *J. Milton J.* The whole is within a grained border. The clock in the church tower indicates 8 minutes to 4.

Reverse.—A representation of Father Time seated on a coin cabinet, with his left hand supporting a scythe and oval shield inscribed "*David Alves Rebello*," to which he points with the right hand. To the left appear a globe and scientific instruments, to the right a plant in a pot and a shell, also the letter M (for Milton). Above the head of Time, appears a radiation of light on which are seven stars.

Legend.—MEMORIA IN ÆTERNA. *Exergue*.—1796.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 2.

Of these, twenty-eight were struck in copper, and eight in silver.

The design of this piece conveys the idea that it was struck after the death of Mr. D. A. Rebello, to perpetuate his memory. Pye states that it was struck for J. Rebello, who died at Hackney, April 4th, 1803. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, page 388, 1803.)

There is a proof of each die in tin, on thin flans; on the obverse, the clouds above the church are in higher relief than those on the finished specimens, and on the proof of the reverse die, the letter "M" is omitted. These specimens were presented by the artist to Mr. M. Young, from whom they were purchased by Sir George Chetwynd, and are now in my possession. Fig. 3.

Collectors are cautioned against what purports to be this rare "impression in tin," but what is really a restrike from the dies after they had become considerably corroded. When it was last sold by auction, mention was made of "slight corrosion," but in such a manner as to imply that the corrosion was on the *token*; such, however, is not the case, but it is as I have just stated.

Continuing the London section, and taking the names of the issuers alphabetically, the first is Peter Anderson. A description of the tokens is as follows :—



PRIVATE TOKENS.

PI. I.

Obverse.—The Arms of London.

Legend.—LONDON CITY TOKEN.

Reverse.—*AR* in monogram, above, 1795, below, HALFPENNY.

Edge.—PAYABLE AT THE HOUSE OF PETER ANDERSON LONDON. In some instances the word "LONDON" is omitted.

Fig. 4.

Of this token there were a few very rare impressions in white metal taken before the "cross" on the shield of arms was shaded, and consequently, before the dies were hardened and polished; these were struck with a plain edge, in collar.

After the dies had been finished, a few impressions in copper were taken; then the dies were softened; and the motto of the City Arms, "DOMINE DIRIGE NOS." added above the shield, and to the monogram on the reverse, some ornamental flourishes were supplemented. Eight tokens were then struck in copper. An unrecorded proof in tin, with a plain edge, has come under my notice and is now in my collection. Fig. 5.

There is no record in the Universal British Directory of Peter Anderson having carried on any business whatever; this, and the fact that so small a number were struck—both before and after the dies were ultimately finished—strengthen the opinion that these tokens were issued, not as currency, but as "Private Tokens."

Thomas and Robert Davidson of Sise Lane, Budge Row, Pocket Book makers, issued 10 cwts. of halfpenny tokens in copper, the design being:—

Obverse.—A female seated; in her right hand a sword, her left hand supporting a shield, bearing the Arms of the City of London; in the distance, a view of St. Paul's.

Legend.—SISE LANE HALFPENNY. *Exergue.*—1795.

Reverse.—An inverted equilateral triangle, one angle of which rests upon a globe, is supported by two hands, a crown resting upon the upper side; in the centre of the triangle, "radiated," the letters, forming a circle, · BR · CONSTITUTION.

Legend.—KING · LORDS · COMMONS.

Edge.—PAYABLE · AT · THE · HOUSE · OF T & R. DAVIDSON.

What I consider to be the private token, is from different dies, but

of similar design; on the obverse, the shield is further from the legend; on the reverse, the word "KING" does not touch the top of the cross on the crown. Fig. 6. From these dies were struck, one specimen in gold, seventy-two examples in silver, six in copper, and some few in tin, or white metal; these latter and such of the silver specimens as I have seen or heard of have edge plain, in collar. Atkins records these specimens as having a *milled* edge. I have a copper specimen as such, also one having a lettered edge. PAYABLE AT THE HOUSE OF T. & R. DAVIDSON'S ++

That one was struck in gold, seventy-two in silver and six only in copper, I think, fully establishes the theory that these were issued as "Private Tokens." T. and R. Davidson were members of the Stationers' Company.

Christopher Ibberson, landlord of the George and Blue Boar Inn, Holborn, issued a few tokens in silver and copper. Fig. 7.

Obverse.—The representation of St. George and the Dragon. A small boar appears at the top, separating the two words of the *Legend*—HOLBORN LONDON. *Exergue.*—C · JBBERSON.

Reverse.—Within a wreath formed of a couple of laurel branches, MAIL & POST COACHES TO ALL PARTS OF ENGLAND in four lines.

Edge.—"PAYABLE AT THE GEORGE & BLUE-BOAR LONDON."

Only a few were struck, and in Charles Pye's time, a specimen sold for £2 12s. 6d. I have one with a diagonally milled edge, struck in collar, this being an unrecorded variety. There is another variety (not so rare) from a new obverse die having a larger boar. Reverse and edge, as before.

Collectors are cautioned in reference to an imitation of the rare variety with the small boar, having every appearance of being a modern production. The horse on the obverse is without saddle-cloth and in the exergue the letter G appears in place of C; there are also other points of difference. On the reverse, the laurel branch to the left has eighteen leaves, and that to the right seventeen; whereas on the genuine specimens there are twenty to the left and nineteen to the right.

Charles James, a die-sinker, issued a few penny tokens, which by reason of their rarity, I think should be classed as private tokens rather than as currency.

Obverse.—A lion couchant, holding a tablet inscribed No. 6 MARTLETT COURT BOW STREET LONDON (in five lines), part of the last word is obliterated by a die-flaw which extends to the first "T" of "STREET."

Legend.—Above the lion, C · JAMES, below, ENGRAVER.

Reverse.—On a wreath, a vulture.

Legend.—MEDAL DIES CRESTS COATS OF ARMS UNIFORMS · below the wreath, &c. Some of these have an obliquely milled border on obverse and reverse.

Edge.—Milled obliquely. Fig. 8.

I have a variety struck on a larger flan, and without the milled border, edge plain.

There is another token with the same obverse as last, viz., without the obliquely milled border.

Reverse.—A crown ; below, a couple of oak branches crossed ; above, a star and radiation separating the words forming the *legend*, ROYAL · · PENNY.

Edge.—Incuse, in collar, I. PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY × ×

The lettering being partially obliterated by the pressure against the collar at the time of being struck. Fig. 9.

Mr. Meymott of the firm of Meymott and Son (in the Universal British Directory, it appears as Meymott and Porter) issued some tokens.

Obverse.—A female seated, holding in her right hand a pair of scales, and supporting with her left a shield and spear, the point of which almost touches the "O" of "SON."

Legend.—MEYMOTT + & + SON + LONDON. *Exergue.*— + 1795 +
The whole within a beaded circle.

Reverse.—The Arms of London.

Legend.— + SCALES + WEIGHTS + & + STEEL-YARDS. The whole within a beaded circle.

Edge.—CORNER OF WORMWOOD STREET BISHOPSGATE ×
in raised letters. Some are struck with a plain edge, in collar. Fig. 10.

x

Of the token described, one was struck in gold, a few in silver, copper, and tin. When the die for the obverse failed, another was sunk, but this appears to have failed at once, as it is shown on an unrecorded specimen, with a die flaw obliterating part of the word "MEYMOTT" viz., the last three letters and extending almost to the word "SON," also the scales are held much higher, the beam all but touching the female's arm, the small cross before and after the date are omitted, and the end of the spear comes close to the last limb of the letter "N" of "SON"; plain edge in collar.

A third obverse die, very similar to the others, was sunk, but with a dot on each side of the date, and without the + between each word of the legend, the head of the spear comes almost midway between the words "SON" and "LONDON." With this obverse, and the reverse previously used the tokens for currency were struck. The specimens struck from the original dies may be regarded as private tokens, as impressions in gold, silver, copper and tin were taken.

The gold specimen was purchased in 1832 by Sir George Chetwynd, from the executor of Mr. Meymott.

Samuel Meymott, scale maker, was a member of the Vintners' Company. Clement Meymott, also a scale maker, was a member of the Blacksmiths' Company.

John Milton, the die-sinker previously referred to, also sank the dies for what may reasonably be presumed to be a private token, as there is nothing to indicate any face value upon it.

Obverse.—A draped female figure, seated on a globe, on which are some of the signs of the zodiac, and which is surrounded by clouds; in her right hand, a pair of compasses, in her left, a staff or wand.

Reverse.—A draped male figure, possibly intended to represent Time, holding in the right hand the bridle of a winged horse, in the background are cliffs and a projecting tree to which a figure is clinging and attempting to reach the summit. *Exergue.*—MILTON · MEDALIST SEALS · COINS &C. 1800 (in three lines).

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 11.

Mr. M. Young, on the authority of the artist Milton, described



11



13



15



12



14



16A



16B



16C



17



18



19



PRIVATE TOKENS

PL. II.

the design, as emblematical of flights of the imagination in poetry, design, etc. The reverse die cracked, and only twelve impressions were taken, these being in tin.

Charles Pye's engraving of the reverse differs from the design on the token; he shows five persons, whereas two only are shown on the token, he also has the date 1799, that on the token being 1800. His index note states—"engraved by Mr. Milton's desire, from an unfinished impression, and the dies are not yet finished." This probably accounts for the discrepancy between the actual token and Pye's engraving.

Robert Orchard issued several tokens, but as none of these appear in Charles Pye's work of 1801, there is every reason to believe they were never intended for currency. Some of his dies have been used with the dies for Irish tokens, thus making what are technically known as *mules*. Upon these, though generally very rare, I make no further comment here.

In a copy of "Conder" once possessed by Thomas Woodward, a contemporary collector of tokens, appears the following note, "Robert Orchard, apprentice to a grocer in St. John Street, Clerkenwell, whose vanity has induced him to have engraved several tokens with his bust." The statement that he was an apprentice is almost absolute proof that the tokens were not intended for currency, and as they are all scarce, the probability is that only a few were struck.

The token issued in 1795 has—

Obverse.—A bust to left.

Legend.—ROBERT ORCHARD. In small letters below the bust is the name of the die-sinker Jacobs. The whole within a beaded circle. On some of these tokens a die flaw appears extending from the front of the coat across the shoulder to the last letter of the legend.

Reverse.—A shield of arms; above, HALFPENNY; below, 1795. The whole surrounded by a beaded circle.

Edge.—Plain, not in collar.

Another token, without date, has—

X 2

Obverse.—An undraped bust to right; below, the die-sinker's name James and a ★

Legend.—Commencing behind the head ★ ROBERT ORCHARD ★

The reverse of this variety is from the reverse die of Prattent's token and probably it is a *mule*, struck without Orchard's sanction; both the obverse dies are *muled* with quite a number of different reverses, as previously stated.

A token, stated to be unique, has—

Obverse.—As last.

Reverse.—A bee-hive with small branches under it.

Legend.—SMITHFIELD TOKEN 1797.

Of this, it is stated, only one impression (and that in white metal) was taken, when the die broke. It is said to have been sold to Matthew Young, a well-known coin dealer of his day.

About the 10th of March, 1802, the following notice appeared in a London paper :—

TO THE AMATEURS OF COINS.

To be disposed of, Robert Orchard's Smithfield Token, unique, the only one ever coined, mentioned in "Conda's Arrangement of the Provincial Coins." Letters addressed, post paid to A. B., No. 47 Davies Street, Berkeley Square, with the price that will be given, will be attended to.

The bee-hive was a favourite device indicative of industry; it appears on the design of a private token issued by a noted book-seller. St. John Street, Clerkenwell, where Orchard was apprenticed, is near Smithfield Market, hence the allusion to Smithfield.

As yet, I have neither seen the token, nor heard of anyone having it in his collection.

The obverse die used for this token, was softened, and, as an inner legend, commencing behind the head, the words "LONDON TOKEN," with the date, 1797, below the bust, were added. In this instance the bust is draped.

Reverse.—A shield of arms with the letter O, above. The whole surrounded by a couple of oak branches, within a beaded circle.

Edge.—Plain, not in collar.

Another token has :—

Obverse.—A view of a church, above a shield of arms, and on a label the motto IN GOD IS MY TRUST.

Legend.—ISLINGTON · OLD · CHURCH · ROBERT · ORCHARD .
In minute letters below the church, the die-sinker's name JACOBS within a beaded circle.

Reverse—*RO* in monogram ; above, HALFPENNY ; below, 1798, within a beaded circle. Fig. 12.

Some of these tokens are struck on blanks having as an edge-reading, COVENTRY TOKEN and a wavy line.

All these are halfpenny tokens. In 1801, Orchard issued a penny token.

Obverse.—A full faced draped bust, in exceptionally high relief.

Legend.—ROBERT ° ORCHARD ° SAWBRIDGEWORTH ° °
HERTS ° ° within a raised rim.

Reverse.—A mound of earth, on which appears a rail fence and two trees ; against the trunk of the larger is an open book, a view of a church and trees in the distance.

Legend.—★ SAWBRIDGEWORTH ★ PENNY ★ TOKEN ★ *Exergue*.
—In three lines ★ ★ PAYABLE ★ ★ FEB XI ★ 1801 ★ , all within a raised rim.

Edge.—Plain, not in collar. Fig. 13.

A large die flaw appears above the tree, which affects the legend on both obverse and reverse.

This is an exceedingly rare token, only four specimens being known, one of which is badly defaced. In all probability James was the die-sinker.

This, perhaps, should have been classed under the heading of Hertfordshire, but I have placed it here, and also the following, to keep up the sequence. The next is a halfpenny.

Obverse.—A view of a church ; above, a shield of arms as before, but without the motto.

Legend.—ROB^r ORCHARD SAWBRIDGEWORTH · Below the church in very minute letters JACOBS and below that HERTS, all within a toothed border.

Reverse.—A shepherd reclining under a tree, a hill and two sheep in the distance ; below, partly intermingled with the design, 1790. Within a toothed border.

Edge.—COVENTRY TOKEN and a wavy line, in some instances partly obliterated. Some have a milled edge. Fig. 14.

In 1803, Robert Orchard was in business as a grocer and tea dealer at No. 34, Greek Street, and he issued a token of the penny size.

Obverse.—Bust to right, in high relief.

Legend.—ROBERT ORCHARD No. 34 GREEK STREET CORNER OF CHURCH STREET SOHO LONDON ★ Immediately below the bust 1803. On the truncation of the bust appears the die-sinker's name, Milton F. The whole within a narrow raised border.

Reverse.—Within a similar border, in seven lines, AND AT SAWBRIDGEWORTH HERTS MANUFACTURER OF CHOCOLATE & COCOA ON A NEW AND IMPROVED PRINCIPLE.

Upper legend.—GROCER & TEA DEALER.

Lower legend.—WHOLESALE RETAIL & FOR EXPORTATION.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 15.

I have an impression in lead, taken before the die-sinker's name was added.

Reverse.—Blank.

Robert Orchard issued a printed handbill, being "A list of the Cabinets who (*sic*) have in their possession the penny token issued by me Robert Orchard." Milton the die-sinker is stated to have had one in silver, the others were in copper. Together with the list of names just referred to, Orchard published three sheets of prints representing the tokens he had issued, each set of illustrations being surrounded by a border consisting of the following announcement :—

An exact representation of the different coins issued by me Robert Orchard No. 34 Greek St. corner of Church St. Soho, London, Grocer and Tea Dealer, and at Sawbridgeworth, Herts, Manufacturer of Chocolate and Cocoa on a new and improved principle Wholesale Retail and for Exportation.

Modesty was evidently not a strong point in the character of Robert Orchard, and if he had refrained from referring to trade on his tokens, the probability is that they would have been recorded by Thomas Sharp in his list of "Private Tokens" referred to previously.

A picture dealer named P. Ratley was the issuer of a private token of which seventy-two were struck in copper and some in silver.

Obverse.—Within a circle, a young man holding a picture, which an older man is carefully inspecting by the light of a candle held in his right hand and shaded with his left.

Legend.—P. RATLEY . DUKES COURT ST. MARTINS. DEALER
IN DRAW^{GS} PICT^{ES} & CURIOSITIES ; The whole within a narrow rim.

Reverse.—Within a circle, a view of the sea and shore; on the sea, a ship, on the shore, a number of shells and a rocky cliff.

Legend.—SHELLS . ORES & MINERALS . BO^T SOLD . OR .
EXCHANGED . 1795. The whole within a narrow rim.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 16 C.

This has been called the "Tired Boy" token, the young man being depicted as yawning! I have an impression in pewter before the obverse die was finished, the head of the youth being narrower than on the other specimens. Fig. 16 A.

Atkins records a specimen as Middlesex 347 and describes the reverse as "The top of the cliff comes between the 'OR' and 'EXCHANGED.'"

In a sale catalogue of 1901, Lot 151 was supposed to contain this specimen, the description being,—“The exceedingly rare variety of the last piece, where the top of the cliff is between the 'OR' and EXCHANGED.” This, and the impression in pewter, were stated to be from the Chetwynd collection.

The specimen from Lot 151 proved to be a double struck impression from the ordinary dies, in which instance the top of the cliff comes between the "SOLD" and "OR." The seeming variety of reverse die occurred by reason of the die having slightly twisted round, and also having slipped sideways so that the edge rested on the "collar," hence, when the second impression was taken, that part of the original impression, under the die, on the side where the collar was supporting it, was not re-struck, thus producing the apparent changed position of the top of the cliff in regard to the words "SOLD" and "OR." A careful examination with a magnifying glass shows the

existence of the original tree in its correct position as regards the legend, prior to its obliteration by the second striking. Fig. 16B.

Possibly the specimen is that described in the Chetwynd catalogue as No. 103 on page 68, where Sharp states, "Another impression, bronzed, the obverse very fine, the reverse double-struck."

The matter therefore rests here. Either Mr. Atkins described as from a different reverse die, what was only a double-struck impression, or, if the genuine token does exist, then this token was wrongly described in the sale catalogue. I invite any collector who can throw light on the subject to do so.

There is an impression in lead from an unfinished die.

Obverse.—In five lines. RATLEY DEALER IN COINS DUKES COURT ST MARTINS LANE. On each side of the word "COINS" is a small circle, representing a rare token, the one to the left being that of the obverse of T. Miller's token, viz., bust to right. *Legend.*—T MILLAR BUNGAY. the other representing the reverse of the Southampton token, viz., a shield of arms of the Brewery and Block Manufactory United Company, but without any legend.

Legend.—A GREAT VARIETY OF PROVINCIAL COINS & TRADESMENS TOKENS 1801.

Reverse.—Blank.

Peter Skidmore issued a number of tokens for sale to collectors; all of which are entirely different in design and general style from the one here described and which I regard as his "Private Token."

Obverse.—A view of a church and yard.

Legend.—WEST · VIEW · OF · BOSTON · CHURCH · IN · THE · COUNTY · OF · LINCOLN · *Exergue.*—In small letters, the die-sinker's name *JACOBS*. The whole within a narrow rim.

Reverse.—*P.S.* in ornamented script capitals, with the date 1797 beneath, surrounded by a floral wreath.

Legend.—P · SKIDMORE · MEDAL · MAKER · No. 15 · COPPICE · ROW · CLERKENWELL · LONDON ◊ The whole within a narrow rim.

Edge.—I PROMISE TO · PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY × Incuse, and in collar. Fig. 17.

The dies broke at an early stage of their use, and specimens of this token are very rare.

The church represented on the obverse is dedicated to St. Botolph. The tower, built in 1309, after the model of the great church at Antwerp, has an octagonal lantern, which serves as a landmark (locally known as "Boston Stump"), not only to mariners, but also to persons travelling across the marshes.

Peter Skidmore was the son of John Skidmore, stove grate maker to "His Majesty's Board of Ordnance," who carried on business at 15, Coppice Row, Clerkenwell, and 123, High Holborn. On his halfpenny token for currency is represented a view of a smithy, with smith and striker at work at the anvil, as an obverse, and a stove and mantelpiece, as a reverse.

Peter Skidmore was responsible for a number of tokens purporting to belong to certain towns, with which they had no connection, except in name.

Richard Summers issued some tokens of which there are two varieties of the reverse.

These are in such high relief, that as currency they would not be a success, and as they would cost in striking, alone, not including the cost of sinking the dies, more than one halfpenny each, they could never have been intended for currency: both varieties are rare.

Obverse.—Within a circle, a full-face view of an animal's head (possibly that of some kind of an ape).

Legend.—A WILD MAN FROM THE LAND OF JESSO TO BE SEEN. AT ♣ Within a narrow raised rim.

Reverse.—In script capitals, the monogram *P.S.*

Outer legend.—SUMMERS'S MUSEUM N^o 24 OLD CAVENDISH STREET OXFORD STREET.

Inner legend.—Within a circle.— · PAINTINGS BOUGHT SOLD AND EXCHANGED · 1797.

Immediately above the date, a shell, connecting the beginning and end of a wavy circle.—DEALER IN CURIOSITIES &c., surrounding the monogram. The whole within a narrow raised rim.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 19.

The rarer variety has a smaller "S" in the monogram, and the date does not touch the circle, which is the case in the other instance. Fig. 18.

There is a token, which, by reason of its beauty of design and execution, I am led to think was intended for a private token, rather than for use as currency. I refer to the token of halfpenny size intended to be issued by Isaac Swainson. Pouthon was the die-sinker, but only 12 proofs were struck, when the order was countermanded, as the name had been mis-spelt. These were made at the works of Matthew Boulton, Soho, Birmingham.

Obverse.—Undraped bust to left, the hair tied with a riband, and extending below the truncation of the bust.

Legend.—JSAAC SUAINSON. Within a circle of dots.

Reverse.—Within a circle, a female figure, dropping herbs into a still. In the exergue, the initial of the die-sinker, P.

Legend.—HYGEIA PREPAIRING VELNOS' VEGETABLE SYRUP ★ Within a circle of dots.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 20.

A proof in silver from the Chetwynd collection is in the British Museum. The mere fact that some reference to the trade of the proprietor is made by the design of the reverse, is no proof that it was not intended for a private token. Trade references occur on several of this class. Isaac Swainson's address was 21, Frith Street, Soho, London.

If this had been intended for a currency token, the probability is that a new die, with corrected legend, would have been sunk, which does not occur.

Matthew Young issued a private token of the penny size.

Obverse.—A female seated, holding in her right hand a trident, her elbow resting on an oval shield, bearing the Arms of the City of London; her left hand holding a laurel branch. From behind the shield appears a cornucopia, from which coins are issuing; a view of St. Paul's Cathedral in the background. *Exergue*.—In script, *J. Milton. F.*

Legend.—On a broad raised rim. CIVITAS . LONDINI . MDCCXCVIII.

Reverse.—In six lines, DEALER . IN COINS & MEDALS ANTIENT
& MODERN N^o 16 LUDGATE · STREET LONDON. On a
broad raised rim. MATTHEW · YOUNG · GOLDSMITH · AND ·
JEWELLER ♦

Edge.—In raised letters (struck in a two-split collar). PROMISSORY
PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE ON DEMAND. ♣ ♣ Fig. 21.

When the reverse die was sunk the word MATTHEW was spelt MATHEW, and one impression only in tin was taken of this die unhardened. Fig. 21A. Then the error was corrected, with the result that the letters of the last syllable are closer together than any of the others. Before the dies were hardened two impressions (I have not heard of any more) were taken of the complete token, obverse and reverse, both of which are in tin. Edge plain, in collar.

After hardening a small piece came out of the die immediately above the word MATTHEW, and a die-flaw developed on the obverse, which ultimately extended across the token, from the word CIVITAS to the date. I have a specimen showing this die-flaw. Edge plain, in collar.

W. J. Taylor, die-sinker of London, sank a pair of dies for a private token of halfpenny size for Matthew Young. A proof in silver and one in copper, having been struck, the die broke.

Obverse.—A female seated, with her right hand supporting a cornucopia, whence coins are issuing. In front of her, a coin cabinet (copied from one said to have been in the possession of Matthew Young).

Exergue.—Laurel branches, crossed and tied, and the initials of the artist, W.J.T.

Legend.—On a raised broad rim. DEALER IN ANCIENT &
MODERN COINS MEDALS, etc.

Reverse.—In ornamented script capitals, *M.Y.*

Legend.—On a broad raised rim. MATTHEW YOUNG.

Lower legend.—41 . TAVISTOCK St Covt GDⁿ.

Edge.—Plain in collar.

In the catalogue of the Thomas Sale, February 25th, 1844, Lot 235 is as follows :—

Matthew Young. A proof of a halfpenny token "O" a female seated, with cornucopia, and before her a Medal cabinet, copied from one late in his possession, "R," the initials MY.

This elegant token which was engraved but a short time previous to his decease, is the work of Taylor, by whom it was presented to Mr. Young, and subsequently to the late possessor; one only was taken from the die, which is now destroyed.

This token was bought by Curt for £2. In the sale catalogue of Walter Wilson, July 26th, 1847, Lot 635 consists of this token, the following note being added :—

This elegant and unique token was engraved and presented to Mr. Young by W. J. Taylor, the artist, and was afterwards imitated as a token for B. Nightingale, Esq. It is from the Thomas Collection, Lot 235, where it sold for £2.

In the absence of any statement to the contrary, this may be regarded as being struck in bronze, or, copper-bronzed. The writer of *The Bazaar* "Notes" states :—

"It is believed that two impressions only, one in silver, and the other in bronze, or, copper-bronzed, were struck."

I have seen the silver specimen, it has a die-flaw obliterating part of the obverse legend. Mr. J. Henry sent the following communication to *The Bazaar* :—

"With respect to Matthew Young's token, two only were struck, the die broke in striking the second. The second token came to me." "I may add that another die was prepared for Mr. Young, but his death prevented its use, and I had it finished and used for my own token. The die is now softened and cut through, and used by me as a letter weight."

There is no date on this token of Matthew Young, but the two specimens were struck only a short time before his death, which occurred June 12th, 1838, at the age of 68. He was a member of the Numismatic Society of London, and was highly esteemed for his quiet amiable manners, his honourable dealings, and his willingness and skill to assist collectors in their pleasing pursuits (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1838).



20



21



20



22A



21A



22



23



24



25A



25B



25C

PRIVATE TOKENS

PI. III.

The sales of his books, coins, medals and tokens which were held during the years 1838 to 1841, occupied six days for the books, etc., and sixty days for the coins, etc., the total sum realized, being £9,905 17s. 7d.

Benjamin Nightingale, a native of London, issued two varieties of private tokens of the halfpenny size, W. J. Taylor was the die-sinker, the design being similar to that of Matthew Young.

Obverse.—A female seated, reclining against books, and supporting with her right hand an inverted cornucopia, from which coins are issuing; on the right, a coin cabinet on ornamented legs, the artist's initials, W.J.T. on the left. *Exergue*.—A shield of arms, between two olive branches.

Legend.—On a broad raised rim. "VILIUS EST ARGENTUM AURO VIRTUTIBUS AURUM." (*Horace*.)

Reverse.—An ornamented cypher *BA* 1843.

Upper legend.—On a broad raised rim. BENJAMIN NIGHTINGALE, LONDON.

Lower legend.—● PRIVATE TOKEN ●

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 22.

Twelve specimens in silver, and seventy-two in copper, bronzed, were struck.

In October, 1845, another obverse die was sunk.

Obverse.—Similar to the preceding, but with the shield of arms in the field above the female and the books omitted. *Exergue*.—Centrally, a rose; to the left, a shamrock; to the right, a thistle.

Legend.—As last, with ● dividing the beginning from the end.

Reverse.—As last.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 22A.

Of these, one token was struck in gold, one in silver, and seventy-two in copper, bronzed.

Benjamin Nightingale, a wine and spirit merchant, who lived at 17, Upper Stamford Street, Blackfriars Road, London, was born in 1806, and died March 9th, 1862. He was a member of the Numismatic Society of London, and his collection of coins was sold in London in February, 1863.

J. Henry issued what purported to be a private token, but, as he advertised specimens for sale, through the medium of a handbill, I regard his tokens as of the class struck for sale to collectors, not as private tokens for exchange.

William Till, a well-known coin dealer of the first half of last century, issued a number of tokens of the penny and halfpenny sizes ; they are struck in copper. I have a brilliant silver proof of the halfpenny, with obverse from a new die dated 1839. The other tokens are dated 1834.

What I regard as the private tokens are :—

Obverse.—A shield of arms ; below, on a ribbon, the motto, ANTIQUAM OBTINENS.

Legend.—W^m TILL, MEDALLIST, 17 G^r RUSSELL S^r COVENT GDⁿ, and as a lower legend, · LONDON · The whole within a raised rim, very finely grained.

Reverse.—Within a similar rim, a figure of Father Time kneeling on the ground gathering a number of coins on to a tray, one of the coins shows the date “1834,” another “Till” and another the arms of the family. The name of the die-sinker, W. J. TAYLOR, appears on the groundwork to the right. *Exergue.*—MDCCCXXXIV.

Edge.—Plain, in collar.

A few proofs in silver are known, of which I have two specimens.

Another token has—

Obverse.—Within a circle, in eight lines, four of which are curved.—
W^m TILL MEDALLIST 17 G^r RUSSELL S^r COVENT
GARDEN LONDON 1834 COLLECTIONS PURCHASED

Legend.—DEALER IN ANCIENT & MODERN COINS, MEDALS
& ANTIQUES - Within a raised rim very finely grained.

Reverse.—From the same die as the last.

Edge.—Plain, in collar.

This also is struck in silver. A silver proof of a halfpenny, edge milled, is recorded in *The Bazaar* “Notes” by a correspondent who signed W. N.

William Till died on April 8th, 1844, and the sale of his coins, medals, and tokens occurred in the years 1845–6, lasting for over twenty-three days, and realizing £2,750 18s. 6d. That of the books was on May 15th, 1846, and brought £119 18s.

There are some tokens purporting by the design to have been issued by John Peckham, chemist and druggist, of Slough ; and some by W. Till, wine and spirit merchant, of the Red Lion Inn. No mention is made of any of these by Birchall, Conder, Pye, or Sharp, nor are they illustrated in the *Virtuoso's Companion*, the general opinion being that they were struck for William Till, the coin dealer, probably about the time that he issued the previous specimen. The first numismatic work in which they are recorded is that published by the late D. T. Batty, of Manchester. The writer of *The Bazaar* "Notes" describes them, and states that Peckham was a coin collector, and William Till bought his collection. In all probability these tokens were struck to sell to collectors, and bearing, as they do, a fictitious date, W. Till's 1794, J. Peckham's 1795, they cannot be regarded as private tokens. They are here referred to because we may almost assume that they were struck for William Till, the coin dealer.

In the sale catalogue of the collection of coins and medals of the late Rev. Dr. Goodall, Provost of Eton, which sale occurred on July 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 24th, 1840, the following note appears to Lot 240 :

"An exceeding fine pattern for a halfpenny token of Slough, Bucks, 'John Peckham Chemist and Druggist,' engraved for his friend William Till, Medalist, by Taylor: only 15 of these pieces were struck off when the dies broke."

The statement that a token is "engraved" is misleading, the dies are "engraved," or "sunk," the tokens are "struck." The note states "the dies broke"; by my specimen it appears that only the obverse die broke (the fracture occurring on the edge above the word PECKHAM), the reverse die being used with a new, and almost identical obverse die.

The die sinking for the whole of this series of tokens is very well executed and it is much to be regretted that a fictitious date was used, as otherwise, they would have a strong claim to be regarded as private tokens.

This completes what, I think, may reasonably be presumed to be a list of the private tokens issued by inhabitants of Middlesex. In several instances tokens for currency, which I have not mentioned,

occur in silver, not only in Middlesex, but in other counties; these may have been struck to give to friends of the issuers, or as a speculation on the part of the die-sinker, for sale to collectors; to what extent this occurred will never be known.

I will now take the counties alphabetically.

BERKSHIRE.

Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart., of Englefield, near Reading, a member of the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquaries, etc., a noted writer on archæological and scientific subjects, issued some private tokens; the smaller examples varying in size from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch in diameter.

Obverse.—A profile likeness of the head of the issuer to left, no legend.

Reverse.—The monogram of the issuer (H.C.E.); above, AΨNB and below, AΩIZ. See fig. following No. 22.

These occur in silver, copper-bronzed, and copper-gilt; and by reason of the pressure of the dies in striking, have a rounded edge.

There is also a larger specimen, $\frac{1\frac{1}{8}}$ of an inch in diameter.

Obverse.—A profile likeness as before, no legend, below the head the monogram of the issuer (H.C.E.) and the date, 1819; also close to the truncation of the neck in minute script characters, "*Mills, J.*" (the name of a celebrated die-sinker).

Reverse.—Blank.

There is also an impression on an irregular piece of thin silver, which has been laid over one of the large copper tokens at the time of striking, hence, the side resting on the copper token is pressed concave to correspond with the raised parts of the design.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1822, appears Sir Henry's obituary notice with a portrait. Also an address to the Society of *Dilettanti*, of which he was the Secretary, at the first meeting (March 31st, 1822), after his decease, in the course of which the writer, W. Sotheby, states, "the highly gifted Charles Fox was wont to say that he never departed from his (Englefield's) company uninstructed," and Charles Butler, in a letter to Mr. Sotheby, states, "If I had to mention

the person from whom I have heard the most curious and interesting facts and observations, I should mention Sir H. C. Englefield." He died March 21st, 1822, aged 70.

There is an unpublished, and almost unknown private token, struck for Lieut.-Col. B. Lowsley, for private distribution among the members of his own family.

Obverse.—A shield of arms and crest.

Legend.—TOKEN OF LT COLONEL . B . LOWSLEY . ROYAL . ENGINEERS . ISSUED . 1889 ♂

Reverse.—A view of a church and graveyard.

Upper legend.— ♂ HAMPSTEAD . NORRYS . CHURCH . C^o . BERKS ♂

Lower legend.—RESTORED 28th APRIL 1880. Above and following the curve of the lower legend.—TOKEN . VALUE . FIVE . SHILLINGS.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

John Pinches of London was the manufacturer of this token, and only a few specimens, in silver, copper, bronzed, and white metal were struck. Colonel Lowsley wrote me that they were only struck for members of his family.

In 1870 it was enacted by Parliament that,

No piece of gold, silver, copper, or bronze, or of any metal or mixed metals, of any value whatever, shall be made or issued, except by the Mint, as a coin or token for money, or as purporting that the holder thereof is entitled to demand any value thereon.

This Act does not in any way affect the issue of private tokens for exchange, or of any class of tokens made for sale to collectors, so long as no statement of value appears.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Francis Wheeler, of Aylesbury, issued a private token of halfpenny size, of which thirteen were struck in copper, and three in silver.

Obverse.—Between a palm and a laurel branch, a cypher, *FW*, above, a swan as a crest, below, the date, 1797.

Legend.—FRANCIS . WHEELER . AYLESBURY . BUCKS.

Y

Reverse.—A shield of arms and crest within laurel branches.

Legend.—MAY . THE . TRADE . OF . AYLESBURY . EVER .
FLOURISH.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 23.

The writer of the *Bazaar* Notes states that the arms were granted in the sixteenth century, and indicate the family to be of Worcestershire extraction. The legend on the reverse, in reference to the trade of Aylesbury, is not in accord with the principle that no reference to trade should appear on a private token; but this rule, as before remarked, is broken in several instances.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

James Burleigh, a carrier, issued a token of the penny size, of special interest.

Obverse.—A man on horseback, to the right; near the horse's hind foot, in minute letters, HANCOCK P (the artist's name).

Exergue.—DIED 1630 AGED 86.

Legend.—On a broad raised rim, HOBSON · CAMBRIDGE · CARRIER
✦ 1596 ✦

Reverse.—A view of a building, above it, following the curve of the rim, HOBSON'S CONDUIT BUILT 1614; below the ground-work the artist's name in very small letters, HANCOCK

Legend.—On a broad raised rim, JAMES BURLEIGH'S TOKEN
CAMBRIDGE ✦ 1799 ✦

Edge.—Lettered, incuse, in collar. VALUE ONE PENNY PAYABLE
AT CAMBRIDGE x x x. Fig. 24.

James Burleigh's waggons worked between Cambridge and London, putting up at the Bull Inn, Bishopsgate Street. He also had boats engaged in the Norfolk trade. It will therefore be readily understood why he adopted the design for his token.

Hobson, or Tobias Hobson, to give his full name, was the son of a Cambridge carrier, and succeeded to the business; he journeyed regularly between Cambridge and London, billeting at the Bull Inn, one of the oldest hostelries on the northern side of Bishopsgate Street Within, between St. Botolph's Church and Threadneedle Street.

At one time there was a portrait of Hobson at this Inn, which

portrait ultimately passed into the hands of a Cambridge firm of carriers, Swan & Sons.

Hobson kept a livery stable and had about forty horses ; he made it an unalterable rule that each horse should have an equal share of rest and work, and let no horse out before its turn, hence the proverbial saying, "Hobson's choice," viz., "this or none." He presented to the town the site for a building known as Hobson's Workhouse, also a handsome water conduit. The latter was erected in the market place, opposite the Shire Hall, and brought a constant supply of water to the centre of the town. Some years ago the conduit was removed, and re-erected over a running stream at the corner of Lensfield Road. Hobson died January 1st, 1630-1.

Three proofs in tin were struck before the artist's name and the inner legend were added on the reverse die. Forty-eight were struck in copper, and six in silver. There is also a bronzed proof with a plain edge, in collar. Specimens of these tokens (bronzed) realized fifteen shillings each, so early as 1801.

DERBYSHIRE.

Buxton.

Obverse.—The Duke of Devonshire's Arms, supporters, crest and motto.

Reverse.—A view of a semicircular building, beneath which is the word "CRESCENT"

Edge.—BUXTON TOKEN, the remainder engrailed. Fig. 25A.

Only six were struck when the reverse die broke. A new die was made with the date 1796 below the word "Crescent." Fig. 25B. Of these about twenty-seven or thirty were struck, then the obverse die failed, and another without the helmet above the coronet was sunk, the last named reverse die being used, and about two hundred were struck. Fig. 25C. The building represented was erected by the Duke of Devonshire, from designs by John Carr, at a cost of £120,000 ; at that time no other watering place could rival the "Crescent" in architecture.

I will quote the manuscript notes of the Rev. W. R. Hay, M.A.,

Y 2

as they appear in his interleaved copy of *The Virtuoso's Companion*, Vol. 2.

Mr. Kempson of Birmingham, was employed by Mr. Thomas Tomlinson, Surgeon, 33, Brazenose St., Manchester, Mr. William Orme, Drawing Master, Ardwick, and myself, to get a token executed, the obverse of which should be the "Crescent," the reverse, the Duke of Devonshire's Arms; he employed Wyon to execute, who sunk an obverse die without a date, only 6 impressions were taken when the die broke; a new one was executed with the date 1796, and about 27 or 30 impressions were taken when the reverse die broke and a new one was executed, the helmet being omitted; I never could get an impression of the very rare one. Mr. Barker and Mr. Welch each had one.

When Mr. Orme gave up collecting, I had his share.

Mr. Hay was chairman of the Justices of Salford Quarter Sessions, and ordered the reading of the Riot Act on August 16th, 1819, at "Peterloo," near St. Peter's Church, Manchester. The Government formally supported the magistrates in their action, and upon an occasion when Mr. Hay was dining at Lord Liverpool's, in October, 1819, Sir John Copley stood up, and in a marked manner asked Mr. Hay to take wine with him, the first of any one at the table; in less than a month after this meeting, the valuable living of Rochdale fell vacant, by the death of Dr. Drake, and although great efforts were made to procure it from the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, vicar of Blackburn, other and more successful efforts were made to secure the benefice for Mr. Hay (see *Lives of the Vicars of Rochdale*, by the late Rev. Canon Raines, M.A., F.S.A., Vice-President of the Chetham Society, 1883).

DEVONSHIRE.

A token $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter is as follows:—

Obverse.—Within a circle, a view of a lighthouse on a rock, and ships at sea.
The rock appears as if not properly struck up.

Exergue.—In two lines (the lower one following the curve of the circle)
· DEVONSHIRE · — PRIVATE TOKEN.

Legend.— · S · VIEW · OF · THE · EDYSTONE · (*sic*) LIGHTHOUSE ·
COMPLEATED · (*sic*) OCR 9 · 1759 · I · SMEATON · · ·



26



27



27



28



29



30



31



32



32



PRIVATE TOKENS

PL. IV.

Reverse.—Within a circle, a view of a lighthouse, the base of which is surrounded by a wall, in which appears a doorway.

Exergue.—In two lines W · UPCOTT · DES.

MAY · 1801.

Legend.—VIEW · OF · THE · HIGH · LIGHT · HOUSE · ON · THE · SPURN · POINT · COMPLETED (*sic*). (The following portion not reading consecutively with that preceding it) · AP · 7 · 1777.

Edge.—Plain, in collar.

The dies for this token were softened and the part on the obverse where the rock appears in an unfinished state, was completed, and waves are shown surrounding it. The reverse die was also altered, making the groundwork more clearly defined, a series of slight die flaws appear from top to bottom of the lighthouse. A sale catalogue dated 29th November, 1855, has the following :—

“Lot 44, Eddystone Lighthouse, in silver, modern struck, but the only impression ever taken in this metal, the dies are now irreparably destroyed.”

“Lot 45, Eddystone Lighthouse, modern struck, only six impressions taken.”

Probably there may have been rather more, judging by the number of instances when such have been on sale. W. Upcott was presumedly the same individual as the noted collector of books, manuscripts, and prints, whose collection was sold, after his decease, by order of the Court of Chancery, on June 15th, 1846, and four following days. The books, of which there were 1,411 lots, realized £1,404 9s. *od.*, the manuscripts and autograph letters, in 594 lots, £2,420 19s. *od.*, and the prints, pictures, and curiosities in 489 lots, £272 17s. *od.*, the total amount being £4,098 5s. *od.* His coins, medals, and provincial tokens, amounting to 1,735 specimens, were massed in three lots and were either not sold, or otherwise no price, or name of purchaser recorded. One other lot containing five medals and two medallions was bought by Sir G. Chetwynd for 16s. Why the two lighthouses should have been adopted as designs for the obverse and reverse of this token, I have not been able to learn. William Upcott died at Islington, September 23rd, 1845, aged 66.

LANCASHIRE.

There are two specimens of the penny-size which, as they bear no evidence whatever of any currency value, must be regarded either as medals, or as intended for private distribution; and but for the fact that they are dated one year before the "Hackney promissory Token," I should have no hesitancy in classing them as private tokens; the one issued by a Liverpool man, having, except for the fact of the date, equally as good a claim as the penny of Matthew Young.

Lancaster.

Obverse.—Within a grained border, a view of a fortress and trees.

Legend.—LANCASTER CASTLE. The "L" of Lancaster is some distance from the trees.

Reverse.—Within a grained border, a view of part of a bridge over a river; at the end, a building with eight pillars supporting the roof.

Legend.—LANCASTER BRIDGE. Part of the "E" of "Bridge" is merged in the roof of the building.

Exergue.—A · SEWARD ♂, below, 1794.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. In white metal.

Obverse.—From the same die as the last.

Reverse.—Very similar to the preceding, but the "E" of "BRIDGE" is just clear of the roof.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. In white metal. Fig. 26.

Obverse.—Very similar to the preceding specimens, but the "L" of "LANCASTER" is close to the trees.

Reverse and edge, as last.

There are specimens in copper, copper-gilt, and white-metal.

In the *Universal British Directory* of 1790, Abraham Sewart (*sic*) is described as a brass and bell-founder, Market Street.

Thomas Harrison of Chapel Road, was the architect for the bridge and also for certain alterations and additions to the castle. The bridge is 549 feet long, and at the time it was built, was said "to be one of the finest of its size in Europe"; it cost £12,000 and was erected at the expense of the county.

Liverpool.

The following in white metal was issued by Robert Preston, goldsmith, jeweller, and perfumer, 13, Castle Street.

Obverse.—Within a plain narrow border, to the right, a figure representing Minerva resting against an oval shield, bearing the arms of Liverpool. To the left an almost nude female figure winged, in the act of withdrawing a covering from the shield; a roped anchor, and oak branches in front of the shield: on a displayed scroll, on which both the figures stand, the motto, ARTS EMBELISH (*sic*) LIFE, below the anchor, in small letters, T · WYON · F.

Reverse.—Within a wreath, in four lines PRESTONS ARTISTS REPOSITORY. 1794.

Inner legend.—Within a fine beaded circle, PAINTINGS · ENGRAVINGS & MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. ♦

Outer legend.—Within a narrow raised rim, PLATE & PLATED WARES · JEWELRY · WATCHES · CHINA · CUT GLASS & CUTLERY, &c.

Edge.—Plain, in collar.

This piece has been described as a “card of address” or “trader’s ticket” by reason of the reference to the trade of the issuer, but the same charge might with equal force be advanced in reference to the pennies of Matthew Young and Robert Orchard, also the halfpennies of P. Ratley, R. Summers, and others; strictly speaking, all trade reference should be kept from the design of a “Private Token” issued for exchange or gift.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Elmsthorpe.

Obverse.—A view of a ruined building.

Legend.—RUINS OF ELMSTHORPE CHURCH. *Exergue.*—1800 and the die-sinker’s initial “H” for Hancock in the left hand corner.

Reverse.—A wheatsheaf, plough, and harrow.

Legend. — HALFPENY (*sic*) PAYABLE BY RICH^d FOWKE.

Exergue.—In two lines—GOD SPEED THE PLOUGH—

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 27. (No. 2.)

Of this interesting token eighteen were struck in copper-bronzed, and three in silver. There are three proofs in tin; the obverse being

from another die on which the final "E" of "ELMSTHORPE" is omitted. The reverse is from the die in an unfinished condition, before the motto in the *exergue* was added. Fig. 27.

This is the only instance of a private token being issued by a farmer. The issuer, Richard Fowke, was a self-educated man, of quaint and remarkable manner, who took a great interest in the ruins of the old church.

In the year 1800, Elmsthorpe consisted of only four houses, it was a rectory, though a sinecure.

Richard Fowke compiled a manuscript chronicle of local antiquities and history, commencing with—"The Creation of the World, and of Elmsthorpe." His token was illustrated in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1801, and in the same magazine, for December, 1815, appears his obituary notice, he having died on December 1st, in his 70th year; he is said to have had the finest collection of coins and medals in Leicestershire. On several occasions he sent contributions to the pages of that popular magazine.

NORFOLK.

Norwich.

Joseph Hardingham issued a private token of the halfpenny size.

Obverse.—A male bust to left.

Legend.—GEORGE FREDERICK HANDEL.

Reverse.—A view of a building.

Legend.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL. *Exergue.*—1797.

Edge.—Incuse, and struck in collar. PAYABLE BY HARDINGHAM.
MUSICIAN + + Fig. 28.

About forty-eight specimens were struck. In some instances the edge-reading is almost obliterated. There is a very rare variety from a slightly different obverse die, showing the hair further from the ear.

Although the Norwich Musical Festival only dates from 1824, there has been an annual cathedral sermon for the benefit of the hospital, since 1779, on which occasions special musical performances were given. By means of the designs of the obverse and

reverse, the issuer establishes a connection between music, as represented by the bust of the eminent composer, and the cathedral, by a view of its west front. Specimens of this token realized, by sale, nine shillings each previous to 1801.

The tokens were struck at Kempson's Button manufactory, Willetts being the die-sinker. The obverse die, with the bust of Handel, was used with the dies of the "Coventry Buildings" to produce a number of rare sets, those having this reverse being far scarcer than those with Kempson's original reverse, viz., "The arms of Coventry," and date, 1797. These sets of "Building-tokens" were made for sale to collectors.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

William H. Mather, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, hardwareman, issued two gross of what are regarded as penny tokens. Pye engraved the design on his plate No. 38, in the 1801 edition, and because of this it has been regarded as a token for currency, though there is no statement of any face value on either obverse or reverse.

The facts that it was issued in 1797, the year of the issue of the Soho copper currency, that only two gross were struck, and that the majority were in yellow metal, all indicate that the issue was for some other purpose than currency; the advertisement of Mather's trade, on the reverse, is on a parallel with that on the private token of Matthew Young. The design and execution of the obverse are of so excellent a character, that, till definite evidence is forthcoming to establish its claim to be a penny token for currency, I must class it as one of those issued for gifts to friends, if not actually as a private token.

Obverse.—Justice supporting a shield, on which are a key and anchor crossed, a ship at sea in the distance.

Legend.—JUSTICE RESTING ON THE EMBLEMS OF SECURITY ↱ this within a rim, a circle surrounding the design.

Reverse.—Within a circle, in six lines MATHER IRONMONGER DEALER IN HARDWARE STOVE GRATES ETC.

Legend.—NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE 1797 within a rim.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 29.

There are a few specimens struck in tin. Another variety has a different reverse, viz.

Reverse.—In eight lines. MATHER FURNISHING IRONMONGER
HARDWAREMAN AND PATENT STOVE GRATE MANU-
FACTURER N° 14 DEAN STREET NEWCASTLE UPON
TYNE.

Edge.—Plain, in collar.

The design of the previous reverse is much neater than this, which no doubt was the first idea, and was not approved. The dies for Mather's token were the work of Wyon at Kempson's manufactory.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Lichfield.

A token of the penny size was issued by Richard Wright.

Obverse.—A male bust to left in old-fashioned attire. I.G.H. the initials of John Gregory Hancock, the die sinker, on the truncation.

Inner legend.—RICHARD GREENE.

Outer legend.—COLLECTOR OF THE LITCHFIELD MUSEUM
DIED JUNE 4 1793 AGED 77.

Reverse.—A view of a porch with double doors.

Legend.—WEST PORCH OF LITCHFIELD CATHEDRAL. *Exergue*
—1800. The legend on the obverse and also on the reverse is surrounded by a rim.

Edge.—In raised letters—PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE BY RICHARD
WRIGHT LITCHFIELD. Fig. 30.

From these dies six dozen tokens were struck at Kempson's manufactory. There are also a few impressions in copper from the unfinished obverse die. The dies were destroyed.

Richard Greene was an apothecary, and the founder of a valuable museum in Lichfield. The porch, represented on the reverse, is supposed to be one of the finest examples of architectural work of its kind in the kingdom.

During the Civil Wars, the Cathedral was captured by the Parliamentary forces, and used as a stable.

The proprietor, or issuer of this token, was Richard Wright, of

Lichfield, a numismatist and antiquary. The contents of Greene's museum ultimately passed into his possession.

Tamworth.

Obverse.—A view of a church and a castle on a hill. WYON. the die-sinker's name is seen in small letters on the groundwork.

Legend.—CHURCH AND CASTLE. *Exergue.*—TAMWORTH.

Reverse.—The initials of the issuer, *F.B.* in script capitals.

Legend.—DEUS NOBIS FIDUCIA. *Exergue.*—HALFPENNY
TOKEN MDCCXCIX.

Edge.—Plain, in collar. Fig. 32.

The Rev. Francis Blick was the issuer of this token, of which six dozen were struck in copper-bronzed, and a few in silver. There is in my collection a specimen struck in tin before the dies were finished, the pinacles on the church tower being higher than those on the approved design. A silver proof is also in evidence. In the church is a memorial tablet to Mr. Blick.

John Harding, a calico printer, issued a private token of the penny size.

Obverse.—A view of a castle and trees. (A rainbow-like a die-flaw over the main tower.)

Legend.—TAMWORTH CASTLE. *Exergue.*—EAST VIEW 1799
"HANCOCK," the name of the die-sinker, appears in minute letters on the exergue line, to the left.

Reverse.—View of a building, etc.

Legend.—TOWN HALL REBUILT BY THOMAS GUY. *Exergue.*—
TAMWORTH 1701.

Edge.—In three separate labels or sections.

PENNY TOKEN PAYABLE AT
THE HOUSE OF JOHN HARDING
CALICO PRINTER TAMWORTH

Between each section are implements of the trade; all in relief, by means of an engraved split collar. Fig. 31.

Forty-eight impressions in copper were taken, and six in silver. There are three impressions in copper with a plain edge, one being struck on a larger flan than the others. Also two impressions in copper

from the obverse die in a partly finished state, and one in tin after the obverse and reverse dies had been finished except for the legends. The last has a plain edge in collar.

John Harding was a token collector, and his specimens ultimately were sold to Sir George Chetwynd.

Tamworth Castle is an interesting old building, in which there is a large quantity of old oak wainscoting and heraldic panels. Thomas Guy was the founder of Guy's Hospital, London; he also built and endowed a hospital and almshouse at Tamworth for fourteen poor men or women.

The will of Thomas Guy terminates as follows:—"declaring this to be my only last will and testament, in witness whereof; I have to the same contain'd in seventeen sheets of paper, and to one other part thereof, contained in eleven sheets of paper, set my hand and seal, etc., on this fourth day of September, Anno Domini 1724."

The witnesses thereto being:—

John Oldfield,
William Pepys,

John Adlam,
Samuel Adlam.

(To be continued.)

TREASURE TROVE, THE TREASURY AND THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., *President.*

THE subject of treasure trove is one that has an interest for a large section of the public, and especially is this the case for those who are antiquaries or numismatologists. The last case of importance which has come before the Courts is that of the Attorney-General *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum, heard in June, 1903, (reported Law Reports, Chancery Division, 1903, 2,) when the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Crown, successfully established its title to certain valuable Celtic gold ornaments ploughed up on a farm at Broughter, on Lough Foyle in the north of Ireland in the year 1896. They had been purchased by the Museum authorities in the following year and the dreams of Alnaschar to which this grave body resorted in order to, if possible, retain these valuable gold objects in the face of plain facts, are perhaps as enigmatical as any hitherto disclosed by the records of the Courts. Before further considering the facts in this particular case it may be useful to shortly review the general law and position as regards treasure trove.

The earliest direct provisions on the subject that have come to our notice are contained in the Laws of Edward the Confessor. The following two versions are given in Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, published last year :—

- (a) "Thesauri de terra regis sunt, nisi in ecclesia vel in cimeterio inveniantur. Et si ibi inveniantur, aurum regis

est et dimidium argenti, et dimidium ecclesie, ubi inventum fuerit quicumque sit, dives vel pauper."

- (b) "De thesauris (in terra absconditis et) inventis. Thesauri de terra regis sunt, nisi in ecclesia vel in cemeterio inveniantur. Et licet ibi inveniantur, aurum regis est et medietas argenti, et (altera) medietas ecclesie, ubi inventum fuerit, quecumque ipsa fuerit vel dives vel pauper."

The meaning of both versions is in substance the same, namely :

"Treasures from the earth belong to the King, unless they be found in a church or graveyard. And if found there the gold and half the silver belong to the King and the other half of the silver to the church where the find took place whether it be rich or poor."

Lord Coke, 3rd Inst., p. 132, defines treasure trove as follows :—

"Treasure trove is when any gold or silver, in coin, plate or bullion, hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property, it doth belong to the King, or to some lord or other by the King's grant, or prescription. The reason wherefore it belongeth to the King, is a rule of the common law, that such goods no man can claim property, belong to the King, as wrecks, strays, etc., *Quod non capit Christus, capit fiscus*. It is anciently called *fyndaringa*, of finding the treasure."

Another definition of treasure trove is given by Blackstone (I. Bl. Com., p. 285) where he says :

"Treasure trove, called in Latin *thesaurus inventus*, which is where any money or coin, gold, silver, plate, or bullion, is found hidden in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown ; in which case the treasure belongs to the King, but if he that hid it be known, or afterwards found out, the owner and not the King, is entitled to it. Also if it be found in the *sea*, or *upon* the earth, it doth not belong to the King, but the finder, if no owner appears. So that it seems it is the *hiding*, not the

abandoning of it, that gives the King a property : Bracton defining it, in the words of the civilians, to be *vetus depositio pecuniæ*. This difference clearly arises from the different intentions which the law implies in the owner. A man, that hides his treasure in a secret place, evidently does not mean to relinquish his property ; but reserves a right of claiming it again, when he sees occasion ; and, if he dies and the secret also dies with him, the law gives it to the King, in part of his royal revenue. But *a man that scatters his treasure into the sea*, or upon the public surface of the earth, is construed to have absolutely abandoned his property and returned it to the common stock, without any intention of reclaiming it ; and therefore it belongs, as in a state of nature, to the first occupant, or finder ; unless the owner appear and assert his right."

A third definition is given in Chitty on Prerogatives, p. 152 :—

"Treasure trove is where any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, is found concealed in a house, or in the earth, or other private place, the owner thereof being unknown, in which case the treasure belongs to the King or his grantee, having the franchise of treasure trove ; but if he that laid it be known or afterwards discovered, the owner and not the King is entitled to it ; this prerogative right only applying in the absence of an owner to claim the property. If the owner, instead of hiding the treasure, casually lost it, or purposely parted with it, in such a manner that it is evident he intended to abandon the property altogether, and did not purpose to resume it on another occasion, as if he threw it on the ground, or other public place, or in the sea, the first finder is entitled to the property, as against every one but the owner, and the King's prerogative does not in this respect obtain. So that it is the *hiding*, and not the *abandonment* of the property that entitles the King to it."

From these three definitions it is clear that the following requirements to constitute treasure trove are essential :—

1. That the objects must be *intentionally concealed* in the earth or other private place.
2. That such objects must be either of *gold* or *silver*.
3. That the owner, viz., the depositor or his legal representative, shall be unknown.

The cases where the law of nature, generally expressed as “Findings are keepings,” has not been displaced by the law of might, more euphemistically described as the Royal Prerogative and “the flowers of the Crown,” are :—

1. When the objects are not *intentionally concealed*, e.g., a gold or silver coin or ring found alone in a field or river, or a hoard of bullion recovered from beneath the sea.
2. When the objects are not of either *gold* or *silver*, e.g., unmounted precious stones, objects of bronze, copper, iron, lead or stone, pottery or glass.
3. When the objects, even if of *gold* or *silver*, are laid in a place of sepulture for the supposed use of the dead or as a customary mark of respect to the departed.

In reference to exception No. 3 it is right to point out that the Attorney-General, in the course of his argument in reply, in the Irish gold ornaments case referred to above, submitted that “treasure deposited as a votive offering or placed in a grave” would be held to be treasure trove, “because it is treasure which has been concealed.” Mr. Justice Farwell, in giving judgment, said that it was unnecessary for him to express any opinion on this point and so the matter was left ; but as votive offerings to a pagan deity would be offered in such a way as to make the most display, and as objects in ancient graves were publicly placed there and without any intention of reclaiming them the essential element of “concealment in a secret place” coupled with the *animus recuperandi* on the part of the original depositor (see Blackstone’s definition above) would appear to exclude the possibility of such objects being judicially held to be treasure trove.

It will be noticed that in Blackstone’s definition of treasure trove

he makes use of the phrase, " But a man that scatters his treasure into the sea . . . is construed to have absolutely abandoned his property, and returned it to the common stock, without any intention of reclaiming it ; and therefore, it belongs as in a state of nature, to the first occupant, or finder ; unless the owner appear and assert his right."

It was to bring the Irish treasure within this state of circumstances, that the evidence of the witnesses on behalf of the defendant Trustees was adduced in the form of a theory which the Judge did not consider to be even plausible. He said, "I must express my opinion that the Court has been occupied for a considerable time in listening to fanciful suggestions more suited to the poem of a Celtic bard than the prose of an English law reporter. The defendants' suggestion is that the articles were thrown into the sea, which, they suggest, then covered the spot in question, as a votive offering by some Irish sea king or chief, to some Irish sea god at some period between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D. ; and for this purpose they ask the Court to infer the existence of the sea on the spot in question, the existence of an Irish sea god, the existence of a custom to make votive offerings in Ireland during the period suggested, and the existence of kings or chiefs who would be likely to make such votive offerings. The whole of their *evidence* on these points (if I may so describe it) is of the vaguest description." The Judge having in judicial language reduced all these flights of fancy to the level of legal logic, proceeded to enquire again, "by virtue of what process have all these articles of such different sizes, weights, and shapes, been kept together during all these years under the whelming tide ? What magic bag had the Irish sea king which would withstand the action of the waves, until the ornaments confided to its care found a safe resting place, formed on the surface of the beach when the sea receded ?" After some further remarks, he continues, " It is really little short of extravagant to ask the Court to assume the existence of a votive offering of a sort hitherto unknown, in a land where such offerings are hitherto unknown, in a sea not known to have existed for 2,000 and possibly 4,000 years, to a sea god by a chieftain both

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equally unknown, and to prefer this to the commonplace, but natural inference that these articles were a hoard hidden for safety in a land disturbed by frequent raids and forgotten by reason of the death or slavery of the depositor."

The report states that the articles in question were purchased in good faith by the defendant Trustees, and the Judge intimated that he desired to speak with all respect of the gentlemen who had been called as witnesses for the defence, and to add that it was perhaps natural that the defendants should grasp at theories which, in justice to them, he might say were not invented for the purposes of that defence.

The second line of defence was that the franchise of treasure trove had been granted by a predecessor of his present Majesty to a third party, from or through whose assignees the defendants could or would claim, but as the franchise of treasure trove, or anything like it, was not mentioned in the Charter relied upon, this contention also failed, and the result was that the judge made a declaration that the articles in question were treasure trove belonging to His Majesty by virtue of the prerogative royal, and ordered the delivery up of the same accordingly. The most satisfactory part of this narrative is the concluding episode, for His Majesty, with that tact and fine sense of justice for which he is so deservedly famed, presented these Celtic articles to the Royal Irish Academy, to which they should originally have gone.

Having shortly discussed the law of treasure trove, and having considered a particular instance which was decided at great expense to the nation as a result of questions in the House of Commons, proceedings in His Majesty's High Court of Justice and ultimately of the graceful exercise by His Majesty in person of his royal prerogative, it is instructive to turn to and consider the ordinary methods adopted when the purchasers of ancient treasure do not happen to be Trustees of the British Museum.

The statute *De Officio Coronatoris*, 4th Edward I. (1276), confirmed in part by Section 36, of the Coroners' Act, 1887, enacts that "A coroner if he be certified by the King's bailiffs or other honest men of the county, shall go to the place where the treasure is

said to be found ; that he ought to enquire who were the finders and likewise who is suspected thereof, and that may be well perceived where one liveth riotously, haunting taverns, and hath done so of long time ; hereupon he may be attached for this suspicion by four, five, or six more pledges if he can be found ;" Mr. Grueber, of the Museum, in quoting this Statute in an article entitled, "Treasure Trove, its ancient and modern laws," *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 162, adds the following direction from another part of the Statute relating to persons suspected of *Murder*, "and how many soever be found culpable by inquisition in manner aforesaid, they shall be taken and delivered to the Sheriff and shall be committed to gaol." This method of "quoting" a Statute is very misleading when the probable intention of the paper was to induce persons having articles supposed to be treasure trove, to deliver them up to the Treasury or to part with them to the Trustees of the British Museum direct, the more so as it is not easy for, say a working man, to refer to so ancient a Statute as one dated 1276. Too much care cannot be taken by a public official that his facts are accurate when he is writing upon matters of an official character, and which materially affect the rights of the general public.

The Coroners' Act, 1887, as one would naturally expect, merely provides that "a coroner shall continue as heretofore to have jurisdiction to *enquire* of treasure that is found, who were the finders and who is suspected thereof." It is obvious from the wording of the Statute which, dealing with an offence regarded as "criminal" must be construed strictly, that it is aimed at the actual men who unearth the treasure. As regards any question of title between the Crown and a subject the Coroner and his jury have no jurisdiction, as this is confined to an enquiry and verdict as to who were the finders and who were suspected thereof. It is of course open to the owner or holder of articles claimed as treasure trove to show that they are not such even after an enquiry of the kind above mentioned. Indeed, if this were not the case the position of the Museum authorities after the judgment in the above trial would have been extremely awkward. The difficulty of obtaining information and evidence as to discovery

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and title, particularly in the case of minor deposits of gold and silver objects, has led the Treasury to adopt methods far removed from legal proceedings, either criminal or civil, to ensure the preservation of objects of general interest coming, or alleged to come, within the definition of treasure trove. The Treasury minute embodying the methods alluded to, is contained in a letter circulated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the police in or about the year 1886.

The substance of this circular is stated in the article above cited to have been as follows :—

“The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury being desirous to render as effective as possible the assistance which is given to the efforts of antiquarian societies for the preservation of objects of general interest, by the assertion of the claim of the Crown to coins and antiquities coming under the description of treasure trove, have reconsidered their practice, as intimated to you in the circular of July 11, 1871, of paying to the finder of articles of treasure trove on behalf of the Crown the *full bullion value* of such articles.

“Their Lordships, with a view to encourage the finders of coins and ornaments to notify the fact of their discovery to the Government, are ready to modify their existing regulations, and to return to the finders, who fully and promptly report their discoveries and hand over the same to the authorities, the coins and objects which are not actually required for National Institutions, and the sums received from such Institutions as the *antiquarian* value of such of the coins or objects as are retained and sold to them, subject to the deduction of a percentage at the rate either :—

“1. Of 20 per cent. from the *antiquarian* value of the coins or objects returned ; or,

“2. A sum of 10 per cent. from the *value* of all the objects discovered, as may hereafter be determined.

“This arrangement is tentative in character, and the complete

right of the Crown, as established by law, to all articles of treasure trove is preserved."

In the recent instance of the great Colchester hoard of 1902, which comprised 12,000 silver pennies of the period of Henry II. to Henry III., so "tentative was this arrangement in character" that the finders were remunerated at the rate of fifty shillings each.

It will be noted that in the above circular no mention is made of the fact that to come, even *prima facie*, within the definition of "treasure trove," the "coins, ornaments or objects" must be of either gold or silver and that such coins, ornaments or objects, when of another metal or material, or when found singly, or in a place of sepulture, are not the subject of treasure trove. This omission may, perhaps, be excusable having regard to the object which the Lords of the Treasury had in view, and if the circular had been widely made known by sending prints to the clerks of all local municipal bodies, the secretaries of local Antiquarian Societies, the keepers of all licensed houses (hotel keepers and publicans), pawnbrokers and jewellers as well as to the police, much good might have resulted. Prints of the circular might also, with advantage, have been placed on the doors of all places of public worship, and on the notice boards of public libraries and other local institutions, and have been renewed from time to time.

As a matter of fact, however, and it is most unfortunate, there are no persons more often "suspected of treasure trove" than are the authorities of the British Museum themselves. At page 170 of the article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* above mentioned, one of the writers, Mr. Grueber, refers to "a recent find of Anglo-Saxon coins, which was obtained by the British Museum in its entirety."

To ascertain how it was "obtained" we have only to refer to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, p. 29, where Mr. Grueber says:—

"Through the liberality of Mr. Franks the British Museum has lately acquired a very interesting find of Anglo-Saxon coins, . . . Mr. Franks is unable to furnish me with any information respecting the locality where the coins

were discovered, and I can only say that when they came into my hands for examination, they were so thickly coated with dirt, and in such a condition of oxidization, that it was almost impossible at first sight to identify a single piece."

This hoard, fresh from the soil and uncleaned, consisted of 241 exceptionally valuable silver coins and some fragments, and these were probably of the "antiquarian value" of at least £1,500.

What is not disclosed is that Mr. Franks was able to acquire these coins for £15 or thereabouts, and, as they were intended for the British Museum the inference is obvious that no very searching enquiry would be made either by him or Mr. Grueber as to whence they came. Mr. Franks, who in the same year became Sir A. W. Franks, K.C.B., did much for the benefit of the Museum, and this transaction is recorded in letters of gold on a mahogany shield of honour suspended in the Coin and Medal Department.

A second and very recent instance will serve to illustrate the position in reference to treasure trove taken by the officials in that department. At a meeting of the Numismatic Society of London, held on the 21st January, 1904, Mr. Grueber read an account of the finding at Awbridge, near Romsey in Hampshire, of some 180 silver coins of Stephen and Henry II. He mentioned that they were found in a garden under a laurel hedge about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface of the ground. Of these 138 were sent to the British Museum, who selected 58 of the best. It appears that of the 138, 34 were of Stephen and 104 of the first type of Henry II. Of the 58 selected by the British Museum nearly 30 were of a rare type of Stephen and the remainder consisted of the best specimens of the coins of Henry II. The coins retained were probably of the antiquarian or market value of £150. Mr. Grueber selected the 58 specimens, the Trustees paid the finder of the coins, "an old labouring man in poor circumstances," £13 for them, and returned the remaining 80 to the sender.

From these two instances, which are only quoted as examples of many others of a similar character in which the Museum Authorities

have directly acquired treasure trove, or to use the wording of the Statute, "are suspected thereof," it will be seen that the Statute is looked upon as a dead letter by that body, and that from their point of view the "antiquarian" value does not apply to objects acquired by the Museum without the aid of the Treasury.

Whatever may be said in favour of the Jesuitical doctrine, that the end justifies the means, and the Museum as a National Institution naturally has all our sympathies, it ought not to be necessary that there should be one law for the Museum and another for the public. The Museum is not the Treasury and has no more authority in these matters than the humblest amongst us, as the Irish Gold Ornaments case has so clearly decided. Under the existing law therefore it is most unfortunate that it should ever devolve upon the Museum to take the initiative in moving the machinery of the Treasury against the finder or purchaser of coins or other objects of antiquity which he desires to present to a local museum, or even is selfish enough to wish to retain for his own collection or study. To a man likely to be impressed the mere mention of "treasure trove" or "the police" is usually sufficient for the purpose, but in the case of another, not likely to be so easily influenced, the Treasury has to be urged to threaten prosecution. Compare a recent case in which a well known antiquary, who throughout his life has endeavoured to preserve from destruction objects of great antiquarian interest, with the sole object of preserving them in the museum of one of our most ancient municipal towns, with that of the donor of the mysterious hoard of Saxon coins to the British Museum. The one is threatened with proceedings, the other commemorated by a laudatory shield! This is manifestly as unjust to the Museum as it is to the public. The Museum cannot be expected on the one hand to accept these gifts without inquiry and an inquest, and on the other to instigate the Treasury to act as prosecutors of the public for doing precisely the same thing, yet that is what has been the condition of affairs for a long time past, and therefore it is quite time that some fundamental change in the law should relieve the Museum from so hypocritical a position. It is only right to assume that the Trustees themselves leave these matters entirely to their

officials to transact, without making inquiry as to what is done and the manner of doing it.

Perhaps at this juncture it may be well to refer to other matters of importance to the general public in relation to the Coin and Medal Department at the British Museum. There are only five *employés* there, and it is quite evident that extra help should be allowed it to deal with the important and valuable section relating to the coins and medals of the British Empire. As regards the *coins*, two parts of a catalogue have been issued, Vol. I. in 1887, and Vol. II. in 1893, and these comprise Anglo-Saxon coins only down to and including those of Harold II. There is no catalogue of Ancient British coins, nor of any of the series subsequent to Harold II. Not even a manuscript catalogue exists, so that a new Keeper has no means and the Trustees have no means of telling whether the collection, which is daily open to public inspection, remains intact or not. Quite apart from the obvious precaution demanded by ordinary prudence on the part of the Trustees of valuable property belonging to the nation, it must be apparent that the absence of printed and descriptive catalogues of nearly the whole series of British coins is a circumstance much to be deplored, and one which renders it almost impossible for anyone resident out of London to make a study of the coins of the Empire of which he is, or may be, a citizen. Even to a London resident, the necessity of attending at the Museum between certain limited hours and making his notes there coin by coin, is a needless waste of time and irksome by contrast, for example, with the delightful catalogues of the Wallace Collection, which has but comparatively recently become the property of the Nation. As a matter of fact, the Museum coins are not in all instances as yet properly arranged in the cabinets, and some obviously false pieces are included with the genuine examples.

The absence of a catalogue also means that time after time the same coins are noted and catalogued by private individuals for their own purposes. This entails the attendance of one of the officials in charge of the coins. It may be a question of hours, but often it is of days and sometimes of weeks, until probably the student and the official grow mutually tired of each other. The knowledge that a

public official's time and attention are being usurped is sufficient, on the one hand, to chill enthusiasm, and on the other to disturb the even placidity of official routine and so induce a depressing influence which seems to have found the light in Mr. R. Whiteing's novel, "*No. 5 John St.*," in which one of his characters is made to remark :—

For an outsider, though I say it, I have a fair knowledge of the Greek coins of Asia Minor. My cabinet of the same has been examined with an interest, *perhaps not altogether free from condescension*, by experts from the British Museum.

In connexion with the present lack of attention to the various series of British and Colonial coins and the want of initiative on the part of the officials at the British Museum to popularise the historical study of these important national monuments of past and present times, a step in the required direction would be to exhibit in cases, for the inspection of all visitors to the Museum, typical specimens of the most interesting classes, chronologically and geographically arranged.

At the present time there are only electrotypes of certain Greek coins on view, and these doubtless pass for *originals* in the eyes of the general public, who are supposed to be satisfied with the inspection of these imitations, for if they ask for admission to the somewhat carefully guarded chamber, in which the property of the Nation is entrusted, for inspection of the originals, they are met with the enquiry, "Which gentleman of the staff do you wish to see?"

With further assistance another defect might also be remedied. One would have thought that if from no feeling of respect and gratitude, at least for the encouragement of imitation, some acknowledgment of the many gifts and bequests which the Museum has received from public benefactors would have been the invariable rule. But although hundreds of the most valuable Anglo-Saxon coins in the collection have been given or bequeathed by private munificence not one acknowledgment is made, not one name is printed, and not one source of acquisition is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon series, the only catalogue of any English coins in the British Museum.

It seems to be a recognised tenet that the British Museum numismatic officials should be encouraged to do a certain amount of literary, or quasi-literary work, such as the writing of reviews or even anonymous criticisms on the works of learned or scientific societies and cataloguing private collections of coins and medals or other objects of antiquity, but this should not be allowed to take precedence of the arrangement and cataloguing of the British Museum collections. The fact that no catalogue of British coins has been issued since 1893 proves how desirable it is that additional help should be given to this very necessary work in the Coin Department. With it the Department would be enabled to add a British section to the staff which could devote its attention to the coins and medals of our own Empire. As at present constituted, the authorities, actuated no doubt by a desire to compete with the Continental museums in their own sections, seem to have allowed the coinage of our own country to fall quite into the background.

On the other hand, the public naturally expect the British Museum to give preference to British Numismatics, but of late years such has not been the case. From 1875 to 1903 inclusive, 52,629 coins have been added to the national collection, and of these no fewer than 47 per cent. are Oriental, and 31 per cent. Greek and Roman, whilst even inclusive of the exceptional windfalls of the Bank Collection (1,195 pieces), the Colchester Find (1,300 pieces), and the special grant for purchases at the Montagu Sales, less than 14 per cent. are British and Colonial. The following table extracted by one of our members, Mr. E. B. Harris, from the Blue Books, shows the figures in detail.

ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM COIN AND MEDAL
DEPARTMENT, 1875 TO 1903 INCLUSIVE.

Section.	Number of Coins.	Percentage.
Oriental	24,345	46·2
Greek (13,373) and Roman (2,978)	16,350	31·1
British and Colonial	7,253	13·8
Miscellaneous (mediæval and modern)	4,681	8·9
	52,629	100·0

A British section dealing with the coinage of the Empire in every continent would be a natural attraction, and one would think a necessary adjunct to the great Institution, and the cost of the necessary addition to the staff in the Coin and Medal Department for its maintenance would be little in comparison with its importance. Surely this can be provided? If the Trustees cannot afford the additional expense out of their present grant, will not some one of our readers who is a member of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, ask the requisite questions and move for the appointment of such a section, which would undoubtedly be of lasting and substantial benefit to the nation at large, and to numismatologists in particular.

Having now commented upon the law of treasure trove, the practice of the Treasury, the false position in which the British Museum is placed, and having also suggested incidentally, that a British section be added to the Department of Coins and Medals at that National Institution, it remains to humbly but hopefully suggest some method by which coins, ornaments and other objects of antiquity discovered may be preserved from destruction for the use and instruction of the nation. It is therefore suggested that in lieu of the present law of treasure trove, which, as shown above, is of uncertain application and very difficult to properly administer in practice, a carefully considered Act of Parliament should be passed making it compulsory for all objects of antiquity discovered within the British Isles to be offered at their fair market value to the Government. The objects would of course have to be defined, but might, with advantage, include pre-historic relics of flint, bone, bronze, ancient pottery, and glass, and coins, vessels, ornaments, weapons and armour of gold, silver, bronze, iron, or other metal, whether found in bulk or singly. A Department of Antiquities would probably be created with an advisory board of experts as to genuineness and value. To prevent unfairness of treatment, the finder of any such objects of antiquity should have the right to require the same to be valued by an independent valuer or valuers, and in the event of such independent valuers being unable to agree with the Government experts, either the Government or the vendor should be at liberty to submit the question

to arbitration, the arbitrator having a wide discretion as to ordering the costs of the proceedings to be borne by the party in fault or error. Particulars of the articles purchased, the prices offered and paid, together with the decisions and awards in cases of arbitration should be published. Any articles purchased by the Government should, after being carefully catalogued and photographed, be offered at the fair market value to the Trustees of the chief museum in the county or place where they were found, and if not there wanted, be returned to the finder. In modern times the Crown is not in need of assistance or support from the proceeds of treasure trove, and it is freely stated that the main reason for upholding the right, is to preserve gold and silver objects of antiquity from the melting pot. If this be so, why not, with the consent of the Crown, initiate an effective system to carry out the objects in view in their entirety and in a manner calculated to give those who are most likely to discover articles of antiquity an interest in their finding and preservation suitable to an enlightened age, instead of treating such persons on the footing of the besotted tavern-haunters contemplated by the statute of Edward I.

When the new conditions had become law, and had been widely and effectively published there would be little chance of anything of great interest being destroyed by ignorant workmen for fear of action on the part of equally un-informed policemen, and, most desirable attainment of all, the present unjust system of there being one law for the British Museum and its authorities, and another for the other Museums and their curators and the private individual, would be abolished.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS AT PETERBOROUGH.

By JOHN C. HILL.

THE following is extracted from our manager's report of the discovery at Peterborough of the vase containing a small find of Roman brass coins of the second and third centuries which I exhibited at the meeting of the Society, held on the 13th July, 1904 :—

In the field at present being excavated there is to be seen the clear bed of a river or watercourse. This averages one hundred feet across the top and in places is twenty feet in depth. In the clay bed there are holes some five or six feet in width and depth, in which have been found the bones of various animals, including the mammoth, hippopotamus, reindeer, horse, ox, and boar. The remains were in all cases fragmentary, as for example, although two heads of the hippopotamus and numerous bones of the reindeer were present, in no instance was a complete animal represented. The holes are filled with clean yellow gravel and it is suggested that the various bones were washed down the watercourse and lodged in the then mud cavities in the river bed.

On the bottom levels we have found reindeer antlers with the superfluous spurs *cut* off, which appear to have been used as pick-axes and the large number found broken seems to confirm this opinion.

In the part of the brick-field now being worked we have excavated beyond the river bed upon the bank of which the pile dwellings were situated. The face of earth being moved is nine feet in depth and the upper four feet of it has been formed on the top of the old level on which pieces of pottery and Roman bricks have previously been found. As the coins were four feet below this level, or eight feet from the present surface, it seems clear that they had been buried in or about the close of the third century. Upon hearing of the discovery I at once went to the spot and found the vase, which lay on its side eight feet

below the natural surface, but it had been broken and probably removed by the men; the missing portion, however, was nowhere to be seen. From the large, bowl-shaped impression in the clay where the coins were, I feel certain that there were large numbers of them, but the workmen would not readily notice them, for they were of practically the same colour as the clay, and to which they would naturally adhere. Their weight, too, may account for the bottom of the vase having fallen out, for it is the portion missing.

HERBERT WOOLTON.



VASE IN WHICH THE COINS WERE FOUND.

The vase is of dull grey earthenware, six inches in height and eight and a half in diameter. It is bowl-shaped, but gathered below the rim, which is turned over. In the gathering it is encircled by three faintly indented lines and at its broadest circumference by a fourth.

The coins recovered from the clay were few and, owing to their almost illegible condition, are of little interest as such. Nevertheless as a find the points worth noticing are (1) The fact that without exception the coins show signs of long circulation in the excessive wear and tear they have undergone before being consigned to the earth; (2) The depth of their burial, namely, eight feet below the present undisturbed level of the ground; (3) The size of the bowl which either did, or could, contain a comparatively large hoard; (4) One of the minims had been pierced and the hole had worn through the edge of the coin before the deposit.

The following is probably a sufficient description of the coins:—

1. Hadrianus, A.D. 117–138.	1st bronze	...	...	1
2. Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138–161.	1st bronze	...	...	1
3. Faustina Senior, died A.D. 141.	1st bronze	...	...	2
4. Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 140–180.	1st bronze	...	...	4
5. Severus Alexander, A.D. 222–235.	1st bronze	...	...	1
6. Claudius Gothicus, A.D. 269–270.	3rd bronze	...	...	1
7. Carausius, Emperor in Britain, A.D. 287–294.	3rd bronze	...	...	1
8. Illegible, 1st bronze (1); 3rd bronze 1); Minims (2)				4

15

COUNTERMARKED SPANISH DOLLAR FOR
OLD CANADA, 1765.

By J. B. CALDECOTT.

THE following coin is a Spanish dollar of 1762 countermarked upon the reverse—GR 5 ORD.



COUNTERMARKED SPANISH DOLLAR FOR OLD CANADA, 1765.

It came to me from the Leycester sale, some fifteen years ago and to within the last few months has puzzled me as to its attribution.

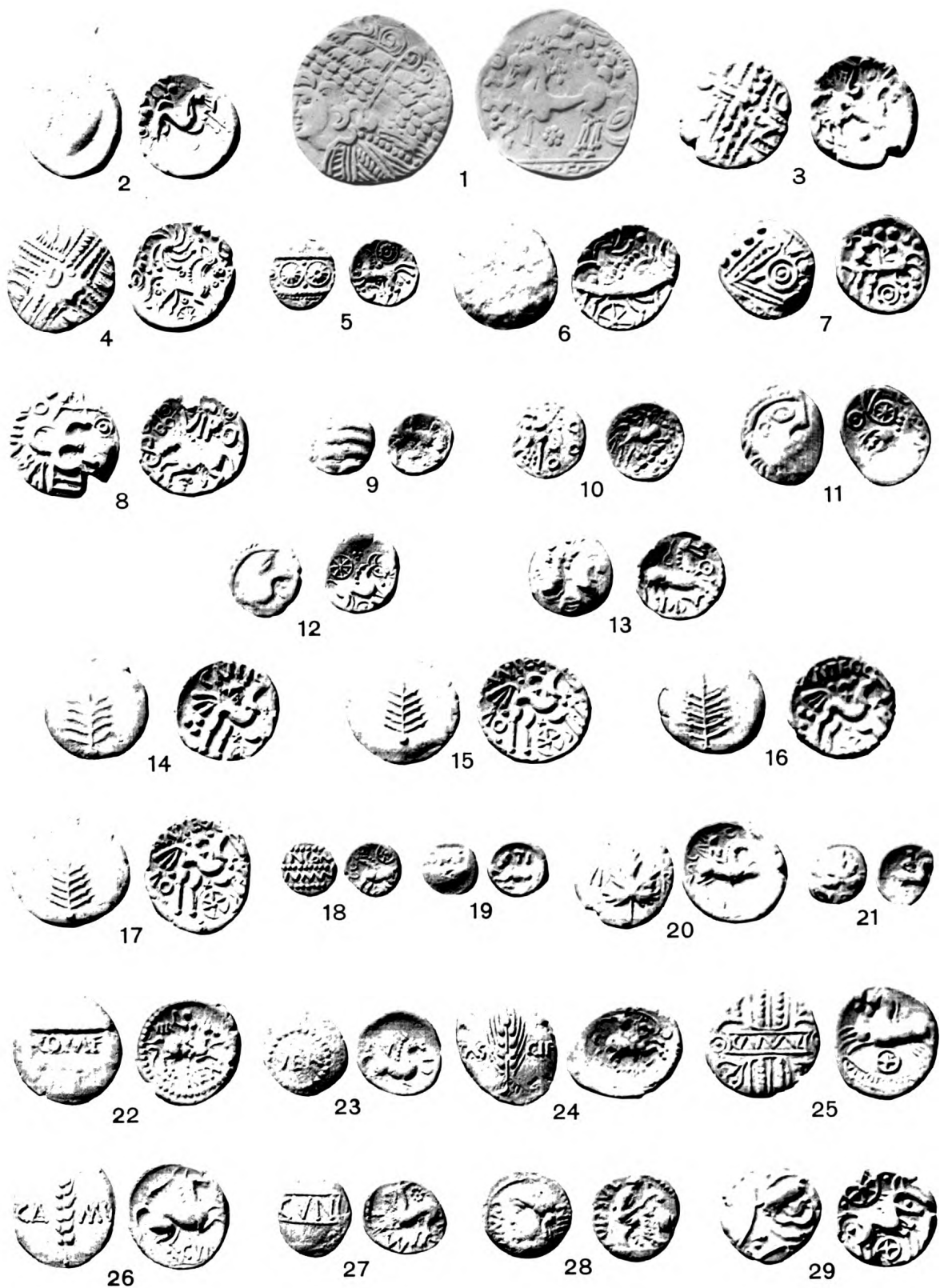
The extended reading of the countermark, however, is probably ORD[inatione] 5 [anni] G[eorgii] R[egis]. (By the Ordinance of the 5th year of King George.) After the conquest of Canada, one of the first steps of the British Government was to substitute for the old currency which had followed the French coinage, one based upon the Spanish dollar, and by an ordinance of the 14th of September, 1764, the value of this latter coin was fixed at six shillings. It was further enacted that all prior contracts should be settled according to this method of computation, and the ordinance forbids the currency of portions of the dollar cut up and circulated by private persons.

2 A

Apparently this ordinance was of little effect, as a second, making the use of the new denominations compulsory, was issued on the 15th of May, 1765.

It is, I believe, in this latter ordinance that we have the key to the date and place of issue of this coin. The ordinance contains no provisions for the countermarking of dollars but the coincidence of date is remarkable, and it may well be that as the introduction of a new denomination required a second ordinance to enforce it, so the coin itself may have been required to be stamped with its authority before it gained any general acceptance. Even with this it could not have been popular, as the compulsory clauses of the second ordinance were repealed by another in 1768.

This may account for the rarity of the coin, of which I have not heard of a second specimen, and which has, I believe, so far escaped the attention of collectors. Should the above attribution be correct, it will open a new and earlier chapter in the history of the Canadian currency.



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COINAGE.

I.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Description of the Plate.

1. Gold—

Obverse.—A beardless bust to the left draped. The hair in front is curled into the form of two or three crescents, and at the back assumes a double plaited form, terminating in spirals: a wreath across the head is composed of a double parallel row of leaves crossed by a single band.

Reverse.—A rude representation of a horse to the left. The disjointed legs are formed of double lines; above, a Victory and many pellets; below, a rosette of seven pellets and an exergual line with some ornaments below it. No inscription. Found at Colchester. *N. Heywood.*

2. Gold—

Obverse.—Convex and plain.

Reverse.—Concave, rude horse to the right, ornaments. No inscription. *N. Heywood.*

3. Gold—

Obverse.—The remains of a rude bust to the right. No face is shown, but the design of this and the next has probably developed from the central portion of No. 1; the hair is divided by the wreath and the general design is becoming a geometrical pattern.

Reverse.—Horse to the right; above, an ornament of irregular shape; below, a pellet. *N. Heywood.*

4. Gold—

Obverse.—An almost cruciform representation of the hair and wreath of a bust, in the centre two crescents back to back.

Reverse.—Horse to right: above, an ornament of curved rays; below, a wheel, pellets in the field. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

5. Gold—

Obverse.—Two wheel-ornaments side by side, pellets in the field ; above and below, a line across the coin with rows of pellets and ornaments.

Reverse.—Horse to left, circular ornament enclosing pellet above and ornaments and pellets in the field. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

6. Gold—

Obverse.—Plain.

Reverse.—A design possibly intended for part of a horse to right, a large wheel-ornament inlaid ; above, curved ornaments and pellets. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*


7. Copper, plated with gold—

Obverse.—In centre, a double circle containing a pellet, outside, a compartment somewhat resembling a pheen enclosing a linear row of pellets ; beyond, another row of four large pellets, other ornaments in the field.

Reverse.—Horse to left ; above, pellets : below, a double circle. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

8. Gold—

Obverse.—Large ornament representing a crescent upon a double crescent surrounded by ornaments or letters including the letter "o" and a double circle.

Reverse.—VIRO above, a horse to left, an  shaped ornament before and various ornaments around. Possibly struck in Gaul. *N. Heywood.*

9. Gold—

Obverse.—Traces of what was probably a very rude head.

Reverse.—Horse to left. *N. Heywood.*

10. Copper, silver plated.

Obverse.—Various ornaments, probably part of a head-dress.

Reverse.—Horse, to right, various ornaments in the field. Found at Colchester. *W. C. Wells.*

11. Silver—

Obverse.—Rude head to right.

Reverse.—Horse to right ; above, wheel ornament and circle. Found at Wimblington. *W. C. Wells.*

12. Silver—

Obverse.—Very similar to last.

Reverse.—Very similar to last, but a circle is shown below the horse. Found at Wimblington. *W. C. Wells*.

13. Silver—

Obverse.—Head of Janus.

Reverse.—DV (for ADV) below a horse to right, in front, a circle enclosing pellet. *W. C. Wells*.

14. Gold—

Obverse.—Convex, a pinnate ornament.

Reverse.—CATTI above a disjointed horse to right with tail in three plaits; various ornaments. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

15. Gold—

Obverse.—As last.

Reverse.—ANTED. Otherwise very similar to last. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

16. Gold. Very similar to last. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

17. Gold. Very similar to No. 15. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

18. Gold—

Obverse.—[T]INCOMMI in the spaces between three dotted lines.

Reverse.—A horse to the left, wheel and other ornaments around. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

19. Gold—

Obverse.—(C)OMF on a sunk tablet.

Reverse.—TI above a horse to left. *N. Heywood*.

20. Gold—

Obverse.—VIR divided by a large leaf. Convex.

Reverse.—[TAS]CIO F around a horseman to right. *N. Heywood*.

21. Gold. Same types as the preceding coin but quarter size. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton*.

22. Gold—

Obverse.—COM-F on a sunk tablet.

Reverse.—VIR REX above and below, an equestrian figure to right. *N. Heywood*.

23. Silver—

Obverse.—VER in a circle of pellets. Convex.

Reverse.—TASCIA around a horse to right. Concave. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

24. Gold—

Obverse.—TAS CIF divided by an ear of wheat.

Reverse.—An equestrian figure to right. Legend not decipherable. Concave. *N. Heywood.*

25. Gold—

Obverse.—CAMV upon a tablet in the centre of an ornamental design which is probably a survival of the head-dress on No. 1.

Reverse.—CVNOBELIN on a curved exergual tablet below. Two horses galloping to the left, a wheel below them. Found at Bognor. *W. J. Webster.*

26. Gold stater—

Obverse.—CA MV divided by an ear of wheat.

Reverse.—CVN below a horse to right. *N. Heywood.*

27. Silver—

Obverse.—CVNO between two lines.

Reverse.—CAM below a quadruped to left; above, dotted circle enclosing a pellet. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

28. Copper—

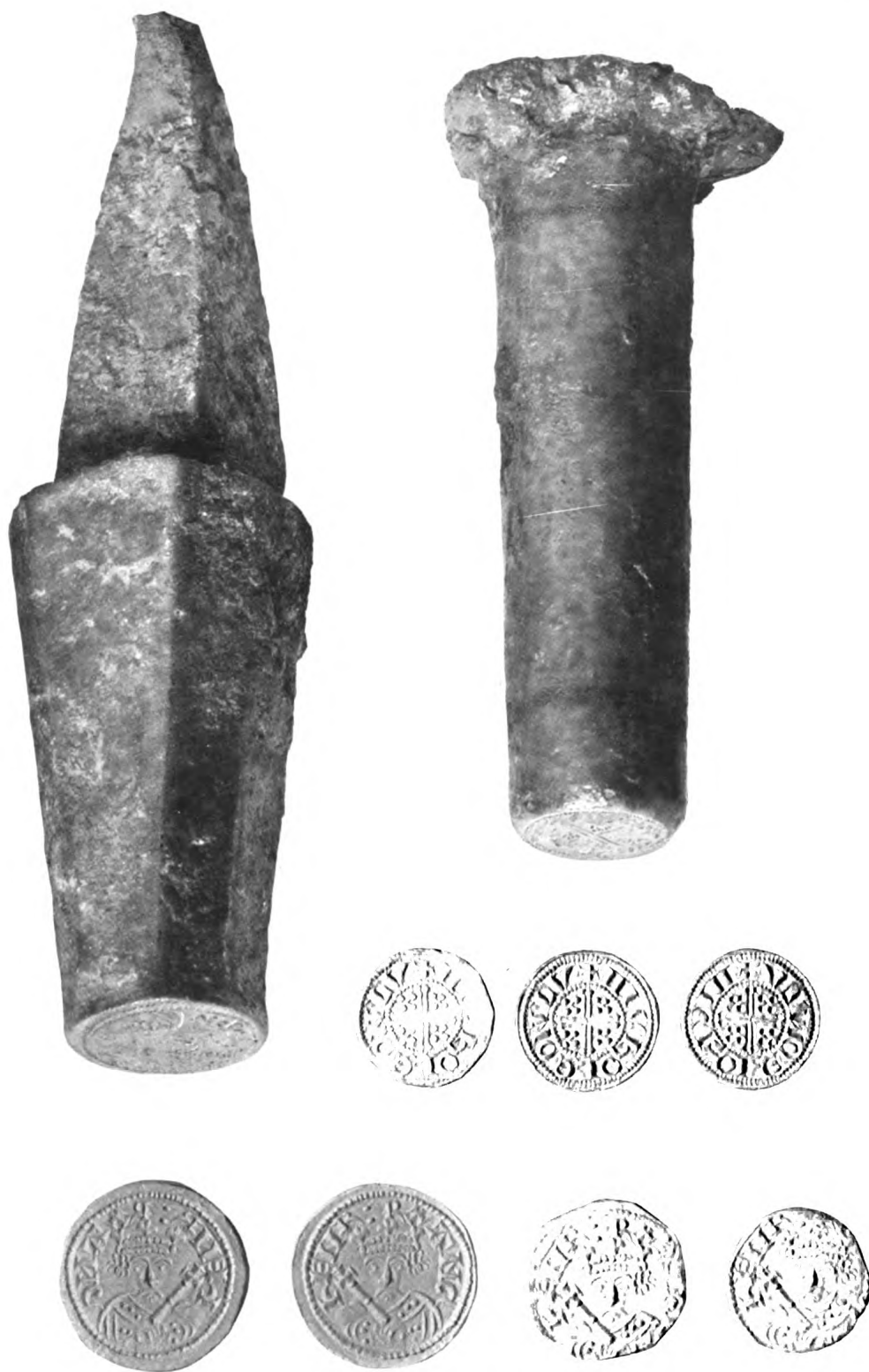
Obverse.—CVNOBELIN. Beardless head to left with the Petasus.

Reverse.—TASCIO. Figure seated, to right with hammer, at work on a vase; below, an exergual line. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.*

28. Gold—

Obverse.—Rude ornament.

Reverse.—Horse to right, wheel with six spokes above it and another with four spokes below, pellets in the field. Found at Freckenham, Suffolk. *N. Heywood.*



TWO ANCIENT DIES.

TWO ANCIENT DIES.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.



IN the accompanying plate the larger die represented was found in the Thames, and exhibited at a meeting of the Society by Mr. W. C. Wells. It is the lower or standard die for the first coinage of Henry II., and its date would therefore be between A.D. 1156 and 1180, and, from certain peculiarities in its legend, probably one of the earliest years within that period. A full account of this coinage will be found in the paper by Mr. Heywood on pp. 97-111 of this volume. It will be noticed that the face of the die and its design are much larger than the actual coins preserved to us, as a comparison with the plate to Mr. Heywood's paper will show. Some criticism upon this die has arisen because of this fact, but it may, perhaps, be explained by the methods of coining then in vogue. This, the standard die, and as usual of the obverse for the coin, was firmly set in a block of wood, the piece of metal, which had been previously cut to weight in the very irregular manner shown in Mr. Heywood's plate, was placed upon it, and the trussell, or upper die, held in the hand, or more probably in a willow thong, was then struck with a hammer whilst upon it. By using a larger die than the average size of the coin thinner pieces of metal could be struck to weight.

The last-mentioned plate, however, being composed of selected specimens, does not give many examples of these very angular coins, which really compose the bulk of the money of the period. It might have been questioned whether the coins were not clipped to weight *after* being struck, but in Mr. Roth's collection is a coin of the

previous reign which has been similarly cut, and several of the irregular angles left by the moneyer have been folded over in the striking, and bear the impress of the die upon them, thus proving that they existed before that operation.

Below this die are illustrated in the plate (1) a facsimile of the matrix, (2) its impression in wax, (3) and (4) impressions in lead clipped in the manner of the coins. The legend upon it is **hENR : R* ANO**, and it will be observed on again referring to Mr. Heywood's paper, that no coins of this variety of reading, in omitting the initial cross *and* the E in REX, have been recorded.

The smaller die belongs to Mr. W. Talbot Ready and is a trussell, or upper die, for the reverse of a penny of the "short cross" series, which coinage is described by Mr. Andrew in his paper, *Buried Treasure*, on pp. 32-46 of this volume, where examples are illustrated on Plate IV, Nos. 1-9. Although perhaps less than half-a-century separated the two dies in point of date, for this may be assigned to Class III of the short cross series, which class is believed to have commenced during King John's reign in 1205, there is a marked difference in their workmanship. In 1180 foreign artists had introduced a general neatness in the design and an improvement in the method of coining. The latter was effected by the use of a close "collar" encircling the disc of metal during the striking to prevent its spreading, hence the face of the die should correspond in size with that of the coin. It is true that collars had been used in earlier reigns, but they seem to have been gradually increased in diameter until in the first half of the twelfth century they have rarely left anything more than a trace of their edge here and there upon the coins, and in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. it is very doubtful whether many moneyers had not entirely dispensed with them. The illustrations below this die represent (1) an impression in lead made as nearly as possible to resemble an actual coin; (2) an impression in wax; (3) a facsimile of the matrix. The legend is *** NICHOLE ON LV** for the moneyer, Nicholas of London, and precisely the same reading occurred on a coin contained in the Colchester hoard.

REVIEWS.¹

The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage, by W. J. Davis. 328 pages, quarto, half Roxburgh. Dryden Press: Spink and Son, Simmons and Waters, etc. £2 2s. od.

We welcome this handsome and well illustrated volume from the pen of the author of *The Token Coinage of Warwickshire* as likely to be accepted as the standard work for years to come on the subject matter treated. The contents are thoroughly comprehensive, for, as the advertisement tells us, they are the token coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man issued during the nineteenth century, in gold, silver, copper, lead and other metals. There is also a record of the tokens exceeding the value of a penny of any period, and a full account is given of the Irish tokens issued from 1728 to 1760. Finally there are historical and descriptive notes of the coinages and their issuers.

The Introduction, extending as it does through some forty pages, is worthy of the close attention, not only of those specially interested in our traders' issues, but also of all who study the cause and effect of the currency in relation to the necessities of commerce, for it contains much that is new, and more that is looked upon from a fresh standpoint. We are told that like siege-pieces, tokens were money of necessity, namely, for the purposes of small change, but many of us will be surprised to hear that some traders made as much as thirty per cent. profit from their issue. In this relation the author's account of the 'Bank tokens' is of special interest.

The origin of a token-coinage dates back to the times of Elizabeth when its abuse became the subject of frequent complaints.

¹ Publishers and others forwarding works for review will oblige by stating price.

Since then it has come and gone amongst us, at one time flourishing in its millions, at another, suppressed and dormant, to be finally prohibited by an Act of Parliament in 1817.

Mr. Davis has arranged his work in the following order :—The various issues of the Banks of England and Ireland. Countermarked tokens. The like of private bankers and others arranged under the various counties in Great Britain and Ireland. The general class of tokens, similarly arranged, which forms the bulk of the volume. Finally, three Indices, namely, topographical, personal and general.

We cannot attempt to follow Mr. Davis critically throughout a book of reference such as this undoubtedly is, but his biographical notices are both readable and valuable, as also are his cuttings from contemporary newspapers, which are often entertaining yet always to the point. In our opinion he has steered a happy medium course between the enthusiast who too often seeks for fresh dies in but worn or “jumped” pieces, and the collector who is content to limit his varieties to the clearly defined changes of legend or device. A work of this magnitude must have its faults of both commission and omission. For example, of the former we do not like the term “a modern copy of good workmanship” on page 129, to describe a clever forgery, nor the same word “copy” applied to similar imitations of the Birmingham sixpence, one of which, we remember, realized twenty guineas at a sale by auction, which would scarcely be expected of a “copy.”

Nor do we quite agree with Mr. Davis's use of the much discussed term “Private token,” a term by the way not indexed. In our view a private token was much in the nature of a private medal, though in the form of a token, and its essential distinction was that it was not intended to pass current as change. Mr. Davis however for example on p. 74, includes the token of Robert Orchard of “No. 34, Greek Street,” London, as currency, and explains that he does so on the authority of the issuer's own advertisement, namely, “A list of the cabinets who have in their possession the penny token issued by me, Robert Orchard,” etc. Surely this alone is presumptive evidence that

the token was never intended as a circulating medium of commerce ; indeed the "cabinets," with Shakespere, might well say

" Whence came this ?

This is some token from a newer friend."

The edition is limited to two hundred and fifty-eight copies. It contains thirty-three excellent plates, and altogether is better value for its money than even the tokens were that it so carefully describes.

The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society, 1903. Quaritch, London, 20s. (issued in four quarterly numbers at 5s. each, 8vo, paper covers).

Amongst the papers contributed to this time-honoured Journal are four relating to British Numismatics and several miscellaneous notes. These we will treat in their order.

The Coinage of William Wood, 1722-1733, by Philip Nelson, M.D. In this paper of twenty-three pages Dr. Nelson commences the story of William Wood and his coinage in Ireland and the American Colonies, which he has since so carefully revised and extended in *The Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin and Pewter*, and in *The Coinage of William Wood for the American Colonies* within these pages. The paper now in review therefore forms the nucleus of a work which we believe will for a long time to come be accepted as the standard authority on those two sections of the copper coinage.

A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester, by H. A. Grueber, F.S.A. This is the detailed account of the famous find of "short cross" pennies at Colchester in July, 1902, and the sixty-six pages occupied by it could scarcely be better filled. We need not here repeat the general particulars of the hoard and its discovery, as these have already appeared in this volume,¹ but may pass on to the more salient points. In the marshalling of the facts and materials furnished by a great find of early coins Mr. Grueber appears at his best, and his account of the Colchester hoard is almost everything we could desire. We say "almost" because of the total omission to record the weight either of the whole, or of a section, or even of a single

¹ See pp. 32-47, 58 and 113-122.

piece throughout; an omission which has already caused one of our contributors considerable trouble and uncertainty.¹ Curiously enough this is a fault by no means confined to Mr. Grueber, but which equally applies to all those who have written upon the hoards of these coins, with the solitary exception of one who, with an ingenious ambiguity, speaks of "about 21 lbs. avoirdupois."

After describing the actual discovery Mr. Grueber compares the 10,926 silver pennies of the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., John and Henry III., including some Scottish, Irish, foreign and three of an early period, examined by him, with our previous great hoards, and points to the fact that only in one instance, namely, by the Tutbury find of Edwardian pennies in 1831, have the numbers been exceeded. He then takes a leaf from the paper in the 1897 volume of the same *Chronicle*² by Mr. Lawrence on the French find of short-cross pennies, a leaf by the way which he should have acknowledged, and carefully compares the numbers of coins of each mint with those of the same mints in the Eccles find of 1864 which comprised 6,217 pieces. "The Colchester hoard," he tells us, "practically adds but little to what is already known of English Numismatics during the period over which the short-cross series extended." Adopting the arrangement of Sir John Evans in 1865, in which the latter divided the series into five classes, Mr. Grueber very sensibly repeats the distinctions which we may shortly summarize as follows:—

Class I (1180–1189).—Large, well spread coins, workmanship good in slight relief. Head slightly inclined to left, five pearls in the crown, *usually* two curves to the left and five to the right of the head. Dots often between the words. The letter A is rarely barred except at the apex, the central uprights of the W usually cross each other, and in the earlier examples the square E and C appear.

Class II (1189–1208).—Rather reduced in size and in less relief, workmanship coarse. Row of more than five pearls in the crown. Head full-faced, eyes sometimes represented by annulets or pellets and the beard by pellets or small

¹ See p. 46.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1897, pp. 235–244.

crescents, curls from one to five, but generally equal in number, on either side of the head. The A as Class I.

Class III (1208–1216).—Smaller, of neat workmanship and good relief. Face long and narrowing to the chin where the beard is always pointed and formed of straight strokes. The curls are always two on either side the head, each enclosing a pellet. The letters are sometimes in monogram, and sometimes terminate in ornamental curves. Stops often occur, and on some examples the cross-pommée mint mark appears; on these the letter S is often reversed.

Class IV (1216–1222).—Bust similar but more than two curls on one or both sides of the head though rarely exceeding three. Letters and the cross-pommée mint mark as in Class III.

Class V (1222–1248).—Still smaller, though neat the workmanship is inferior and the striking careless. The bust is lower in the inner circle. In the later examples the chin disappears and the beard and face broaden. The curls are usually three, though sometimes only two, on either side the head and formed of crescents enclosing pellets. Stops are interspersed, even occasionally in the midst of a word.

It will be noticed that to each class we have added the dates as given by Mr. Grueber, in which “with a slight modification” he has also followed Sir John Evans. But one of these dates, namely 1208, for the commencement of Class III, comprising what are usually known as King John’s coins, should we think have been corrected ere this, for in 1887 and again in 1901 we had called attention in the pages of the same *Chronicle* to a conclusive passage in the contemporary history of John de Taxter, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, viz., “1205 The money issued long before, in the year 1158, was this year re-coined.” In fact, in this one sentence lies the key to the whole short-cross question.

Continuing, Mr. Grueber gives us a complete list of the reverse readings, with the number of specimens to each variation of the coins in the hoard, the result, no doubt, of close and laborious study. He then tabulates the names of the moneyers of the various mints under

the five classes above mentioned, adding those known to Sir John Evans in 1865, but which were not present in the Colchester find, and also the names which he states are new. In this respect, however, it is unfortunate that he has again forgotten to refer to Mr. Lawrence's paper in the 1897 *Chronicle*, for on the one hand Mr. Grueber's list is, therefore, far from complete, and on the other many of the names of the moneyers which he marks as new, have already appeared in the very similar lists of nearly six hundred coins given by Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. Grueber then contributes a very interesting and lucid account of the history of the coinage, and of the mints disclosed on the coins of the find. In this section, whilst agreeing with the accepted attribution of the Rhuddlan coins, he astonishes us with the remarks, "The attribution of coins to this mint has always been considered uncertain as *there are no records* on which to rely," and, "Taking these points into consideration I think these coins with **RVLΛ** and **RVLΛN** may with every probability be attributed to Rhuddlan; and the *absence of any record* of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck." The *italics* are ours, for in that great record of records, *Domesday*, unusually full details of the mint at Rhuddlan and its firma are clearly set forth. Under Worcester he makes a similar mistake, namely, that "no mention is made of the mint in the survey of 1086;" yet in the reference to *Henry I., Num. Chron.* 1901, p. 474, which he quotes at the close of the paragraph, we devoted more than a page to what the survey tells us about the mint of Worcester.

Finally he has a suggestion for the cause of the hiding of this treasure which, however, has already been discussed in these pages, and to which we think he really attaches no more than passing importance.

We have reviewed this paper at some length because of its sterling value to early English numismatics. It is true that we have pointed out some few corrections which appear to us to be required lest serious errors should be perpetuated by frequent repetition; but these only have we criticised, for amongst so much that is good what matters it if here and there a slip occur?

The Gold Coinage of the reign of Henry VI., by Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., pp. 286–310. In this we have a paper of much interest to students of British numismatics. The writer's method of treating the mint accounts and comparing with them the abundance or rarity of the various issues is an original step towards bringing the coins and the documents referring to them into line. Perhaps, as Mr. Lawrence reminds us, the really most important feature of the paper is the recognition of the true annulet coinage which was previously confused with that of the trefoil, because of its trefoil stops. Mr. Walters also attempts to differentiate in the various coinages the pieces struck at Calais. This he does by reference to the flag at the stern of the ship, and he attributes all nobles and half nobles bearing it to Calais. The suggestion had been made before, but he may at least claim priority for its publication. The obvious objection to the idea is that no flag appears on the quarter nobles, which do not, therefore, fall into line with the other two denominations of gold coins. Mr. Walters, himself, remarks on the want of any explanation which might account for the absence of the initial **α** for Calais on the reverse of the coins and the retention of **ḥ** for Henry. In the same way that he attributes the flag-marked coins to Calais he brings forward the theory that the fleur-de-lys at the stern of the ship on the nobles and half-nobles, and the lys at the sides of the shield on the quarter nobles, probably mark coins struck at the York mint by Bartholomew Goldbeter. There is here merely the analogy of Calais coupled with the use of the lys on certain silver coins of the same city to support this view, as no gold coins of this time have ever been assigned to York. He perhaps rather weakens his case both for Calais and York, by supposing that the lys when appearing in duplicate above the shield represents the Calais coinage of quarter nobles, and when single in the same position the London mint. The subsequent coinages are all carefully and historically treated. The writer is to be congratulated on the result as still another step forward in the elucidation of the Plantagenet series.

A Find of Coins of Alfred the Great at Stamford, by H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., pp. 347–355.

On August 25th, 1902, during excavations for the borough


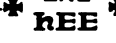
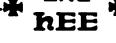






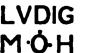
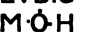
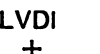
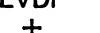
drainage near Cornstall Buildings, St. Leonard's Street, Stamford, a vessel containing a small hoard of silver coins of the time of Alfred the Great was unearthed. The police secured as many of the coins as possible, and after the coroner¹ had declared the coins to be treasure-trove they were forwarded to the Treasury and thence to the British Museum. This is the substance of the story Mr. Grueber has to tell us. Like Rob Roy, a writer is not always at his best, and Mr. Grueber by no means shows the same mastery of his subject which ran through his review of the Colchester hoard. This is one of the most important finds of the coins of the time of Alfred the Great; it discloses an entirely new type, nearly every coin is a study in itself, and yet the paltry eight or nine pages devoted to its exposition are so casually worded that few who read them will realise that it contained anything but what was to be expected in a find of the period. On the principle that much would have more, he seems to attach an exaggerated importance to the fact that the Museum did not get all the hoard, but believes that "three or four halfpennies" and "six or seven pennies" passed into private hands. Then he tells us that "the shilling of George III., though found during the course of digging the trenches for the drainage, was probably not part of the hoard. It was of the ordinary type of 1817"; also "a Roman coin and a sixpence of Elizabeth, like the shilling of George III., may have been dug up elsewhere." To this we might add that the workman who discovered them also "may" not have been, and as Mr. Grueber tells us that his name was John Brown, we may even say he "probably" was not contemporary with King Alfred.

Mr. Grueber then describes the fourteen coins which passed into the Museum. Of these one is a half-denier of Charles the Bald, A.D. 840-877, and the remainder comprise nine pennies and four halfpennies of King Alfred the Great, or Danish imitations of his coinage. We are pleased to note that on this occasion he is careful to record the weight of every coin to a decimal. The following is a summary of his descriptions :—





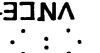
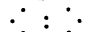

¹ We assume that the jury determined the facts.

ALFRED THE GREAT.

Pennies.

1. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED RE small cross pattée.
Reverse.— ERE
 HEE  monogram (Herebert?); above LIII; below C·Φ·II·A
(Lincolla) Lincoln, 18·5 grs.
2. *Obverse*.—ÆLF REDR. Bust to right.
Reverse.—Monogram (Londonia); above and below four pellets.
London, 21·6 grs.
3. *Obverse*.— ÆΓER ED RE. Bust rude.
Reverse.—Similar to No. 2 but six pellets in the O of the monogram.
21·6 grs.
4. *Obverse*.— ÆΓER ED RE. Bust rude.
Reverse.—Similar to No. 2 but three pellets in the D of the monogram.
and no pellets below. 17·5 grs.
5. *Obverse*.—TEL VVIN. Bust to right, rude work, head bound with diadem.
Reverse.—Similar to No. 2, but a pyramid of six pellets below. 12·4 grs.
6. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED REX, small cross pattée.
Reverse.— ATNEG
 ANEE (uncertain) 13·5 grs.
7. *Obverse*.—XE FR ED RY, similar.
Reverse.— LIERL
 ΓΓΑΓΗ (uncertain) 17·7 grs.
8. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED REX, similar.
Reverse.— LVDIG
 M·Φ·H 19·8 grs.
9. *Obverse*.—As No. 8.
Reverse.— LVDI
 + 16·8 grs.
MON

Halfpennies.

10. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED RE, small cross pattée.
Reverse.— 3·3; above, TIL; below, VVN. 7·7 grs.¹
11. Similar 6·8 grs.
12. *Obverse*.—EL FR ED RE, small cross pattée.
Reverse.— TILE
 VVVE 8·6 grs.
13. *Obverse*.— EL EF DR LE, similar.
Reverse.— 3·3·N·A
 ·· ·· 8·8 grs.
 H · H

In the above list, however, we have redescribed the reverse of

¹ This is our own description from the woodcut.

No. 10 because, in our opinion, Mr. Grueber has viewed the coin sideways in his reading, with the result that the three last letters of the moneyer's name read outwardly, *i.e.*, from the coin; whereas by our method the coin follows the invariable rule of the class, namely, half of the moneyer's name above and half below the device.

Of this coin and No. 11 he says :

Perhaps the most interesting pieces in the hoard are the two halfpennies which have for reverse type the monogram A and ω (*alpha* and *omega*). We meet with these letters as types of coins in more than one form on English coins of the tenth (*sic*) century. On coins of Aethelstan I. of East Anglia we have the π for the obverse type and the \perp for the reverse; on others of Ceolwulf I. and Berhtulf of Mercia these letters are placed in monogram $\begin{smallmatrix} \pi \\ \omega \end{smallmatrix}$ the ω being below the π . This type was copied by Ecgberht. The new type of Alfred varies from them in having the ω placed above the π , and thus forming what in Merovingian coinage would be called a *croix ancrée fourchée*. It is not impossible that the Merovingian *croix ancrée* suggested the design to Alfred's moneyer, but this precise combination does *not* occur on the Merovingian money.

Nor should we expect it to so occur. Mr. Grueber, probably because in much later times the *alpha* and *omega* appeared in conjunction with the Hand of Providence on a type of Aethelred II., takes it for granted that the device under discussion also represents those symbols, and therefore he assumes that the \mathfrak{M} [M] is ω [*omega*]. But we would suggest a much simpler explanation, and thus avoid entering into so abstruse a problem as the particular heraldic combination of the *croix ancrée fourchée* borne on the Merovingian shields in the ninth century. Taking his own instances in their order, Aethelstan I. was king of East Anglia, and uses the title REX AN on some of his coins. Therefore the π in the central device no doubt also stands for Anglia. But the particular coin bearing both letters, viz., π and \mathfrak{M} , is by Hawkins, and we think rightly, assigned to Athelstan II. of East Anglia, the Danish Guthrum and contemporary of Alfred, whose kingdom extended over the whole of Mercia north and east of the Watling Street. Hence the Anglian π on the obverse and the \mathfrak{M} for

Mercia on the *reverse* of his coins. Ceolwulf I. and Berhtulf were Kings of Mercia and East Anglia, and therefore they used the device of $\pi.\Omega$. in monogram. When Ecgberht acquired the crowns of Mercia and East Anglia he too copied the type.

Finally when, at the close of the ninth century, the Danes were so firmly established in East Anglia and Mercia north and east of the Watling Street as to have a coinage of their own, they issued this new type in imitation of Alfred's money so that it would pass current, not only in their own dominion but throughout all Saxon England, and reproduced upon it the symbol of the joint kingdom of Mercia and East Anglia, and at the same time that of their own King Guthrum-Athelstan, viz. $\pi.\tau$.

The rest also of Mr. Grueber's paper we cannot accept, but it has already been analysed under "Buried Treasure" in these pages,¹ and this is not the place for us to rewrite the account of the remarkable Stamford Find.

Of the *miscellaneous papers*, perhaps the most curious is the *Errata* by G. C. Crump and C. Johnson, p. 99, of five corrections to their paper of five pages in the previous volume of the same *Chronicle*, which commenced,

The relation of numismatics to other branches of historical study has always been a peculiar one. Trained historians have rarely found time or energy to master its details; and trained numismatists have been prone to content themselves with a slender historical equipment.

The above has, however, escaped the *Errata* and is allowed to remain. The situation is not without its humour. Whether it is true or it is not true it can only refer to the *Numismatic Chronicle* which published it; for that periodical then alone held the field. If it is true, why publish it? If it is not true, why publish it? Why not "*errata*" it with the rest, for the sad picture of our grave contemporary still doing penance at the Gates of Albemarle clad in five white sheets of its own pages, suggests a very "slender equipment" indeed?

¹ See pp. 19-21.

Oxford Silver Pennies from A.D. 925–A.D. 1272, by C. L. Stainer, M.A., 15 plates, 135 pages 8vo. Printed for the Oxford Historical Society, Clarendon Press, 1904. Price 21s.

This is a useful handbook to the coins of Oxford from the reign of Athelstan to that of Henry III. when the local mint was discontinued.¹ The author has spared neither labour nor travel in his search for readings and descriptions of the many coins of this mint which he has described and, to quote the words of his Preface, “the result shows the mint to have had a very much larger issue than was thought.” He has given us a really comprehensive list of the many varieties of the pennies struck at Oxford during the period mentioned. This is the principal and useful part of the book and he deserves every credit for it.

But he affixes a preface of forty-four pages in which he advances views of his own which are so remarkable, and so unsupported by even the semblance of reasoning, that we trust in the interests of numismatics they will remain solely his own. No numismatologist either before or after reading the book could for one moment doubt that the coins of Alfred the Great bearing $\dot{\Phi}$ VSNAF $\dot{\Phi}$ RDA and $\dot{\Phi}$ RSNAF $\dot{\Phi}$ RDA as their place of mintage were money of Oxford, yet Mr. Stainer takes these coins away, and with them our breath, to drop them down somewhere, for he knows not where, but suggests Salford, in Northumbria. Before we have recovered from our amazement we find that he has also stolen the London and Canterbury coins of the same king, and given them away to Northumbria in so orthodox a manner that his pen does not know to what mint he has given them. Mr. Carlyon-Britton, in a paper read to this Society and which will be published in our next volume, has, however, destroyed this flight of fancy in Mr. Stainer's preface. After that we shall hope to hear no more of it.

The bulk of his Preface is equally wild so far as it is original. For instance, he calls the “tales of moneyers being summoned to Winchester and horribly mutilated” “mere tales,” although they are the detailed reports of contemporary historians, perhaps eye-witnesses,

¹ It was revived in the seventeenth century.

including even the continuator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle himself, upon whose word all men rely. The writer also does not hesitate to contradict the entire evidence of our charters by a mere dictum against the accepted theory of the "chartered mints," and solemnly tells us that :—

Henry I. placed one of his moneyers in London regularly at the service of the Abbot of Reading. Ordgar this London moneyer, struck type xiv., Hawkins 262, both with and without the scallop shell on the reverse, showing that he still remained a royal moneyer, only executing provincial work as required. In the same way a king might place one of his moneyers at Stamford at the service of the Abbot of Peterborough. Abbots or earls who received these privileges had no responsibility for the coinage or influence over it ; the moneyer and his work remained royal and subject to the State.

Fortunately, King Henry I.'s charter is still on record and in it the moneyer referred to is not Ordgar at all but one Edgar, and so far from the Abbot having "no responsibility for the coinage or influence over it," and "the moneyer and his work" remaining "royal and subject to the State," we read :—

Edgarum scilicet, qui concedente rege ita liber et quietus et absolutus cum domo et familia sua ab omni placito et omnibus causis et consuetudinibus manebit in manu abbatis et monachorum Rading. ac si maneret Radingis. Quicumque etiam post Edgarum, vel loco ejus, in moneta positus apud London per manum abbatis et monachorum Rading fuerit, eodem modo liber, et quietus, et absolutus cum domo et familia sua apud Lond. manebit in manu abbatis et monachorum Rading, ac si maneret Rading.

If there ever was a case of a king granting a "moneyer with his house and his family," lock, stock and barrel "free and quit and discharged" to an Abbot and his monks this is it, and a most unfortunate instance for Mr. Stainer to have selected ; for the charter even provides that the moneyer should be freed *in toto* from the king's pleas service and customs.

Having referred to the charter we examine the coin as to which he says the scallop shell on the reverse shows that Ordgar still remained a royal moneyer. Of course he did, for he never in the world had anything to do with Reading, and the wonderful scallop

shell turns out to be nothing more than a die-flaw. Yes, Mr. Stainer must forgive us if we agree with him in saying "Here the chartered mint idea runs wild."

In support of his objections to the existence of the chartered mints, which phrase he says "results from a great deal of loose writing and guesswork that has been allowed to pass in recent years," he quotes the proclamation of Æthelred II.:—"And let no man have a moneyer except the King." But, in this, he naïvely admits that there *were* such mints and that Æthelred II. endeavoured to suppress them, with what result is proved by his Reading instance. Then he brings forward evidence from the time of King John to show that they could not have existed. If he had studied the case at all he would know that no one has even suggested that except in the case of certain ecclesiastical privileges, they did then exist, for half a dozen authorities tell us that they were suppressed by Henry II. The chartered mint question has nothing to do with Oxford, which was a royal mint, and therefore Mr. Stainer's work would have been the better if he had kept to his subject, for if "loose writing and guesswork" were never "allowed to pass" the censor, we are afraid "a great deal" of the Preface to *Oxford Silver Pennies* would have appeared in deep mourning.

Mr. Stainer is, however, to be commended for his interesting identification of several of the moneyers of Oxford with names recorded in various historical documents. This is a subject of considerable importance, for the new evidence he brings to bear upon it fully confirms the theory that they were men of prominence and position, for the Oxford moneyers were public officials of a royal mint, whereas those of the chartered mints were, as Eadmer tells us, "men in the power of their lord."

In his lists of the coins he has adopted the system of copying the legends, so far as his printers' fount would allow him, exactly as they appear upon the coins. This means that unless separated by colons, the whole legend is continued as if it were one word. Technically he may be right, but in the transcript of archaic documents we are fortunately not so precise, or some books would

be printed as one long string of letters from alpha to omega. Nevertheless something can be said in favour of this departure from custom, but it is trying to read, and therefore its advantages are merged in its disadvantages.

It is curious to notice so near home, that the rarest coin in the Bodleian Library at Oxford of the series treated by the author is of the Oxford mint, and yet it is entirely omitted from his book.

The Preservation of Antiquities, translated from the German of Dr. Friedrich Rathgen by George A. Auden, M.A., M.D., and Harold A. Auden, M.Sc., D.Sc., 48 illustrations, 190 pages, crown 8vo, cloth. Cambridge University Press, 4s. 6d. net.

Although termed a handbook for curators, there are few books more useful and necessary to all who are either the possessors, or the custodians of, objects of antiquity in any form. The translators have not been content to offer a mere transcript, but have themselves made numerous experiments in proof of the efficiency of the various recipes, the results of some of which are evidenced by ten of the illustrations, and they have contributed many explanatory notes and additions. Thus we have presented to us in a simple and readable form the best processes and recipes yet known to science for the preservation of every kind of material, the success of which is demonstrated by a series of photographic illustrations upon the "before and after" principle. The character of the book throughout is its usefulness, and whatever the objects be that require attention, the remedy is there.

The chapter which specially appeals to us is that treating of the restoration and preservation of ancient coins. A feature of the work is that minute directions are everywhere given in plain language so that no technical knowledge is requisite to enable anyone to follow them. We are told that from 40,000 to 50,000 coins have already been successfully treated under these recipes. In Fig. 46 we are shown a photograph of three Roman coins as found, save that they have been cleaned in the ordinary way. That they are Roman and third brass is apparent, but even to the expert neither letter nor device is discernible. In Fig. 47 the transformation is complete; they have gone through the treat-

ment and become cabinet specimens with types and legends quite distinct. Silver coins which are friable and brittle or discoloured by chemical action, or gold, which so often are disfigured by a layer of red ferric oxide, are to be treated with the several remedies provided for these defects and if ordinary care is used success is guaranteed. That coins which are brittle and untrustworthy to handle can be rendered pliable and safe, was demonstrated to us many years ago when we saw a small find of silver pennies of Aethelred II. which were in a most fragile condition, but after being treated by some then secret process we were enabled to bend the coins without risk.

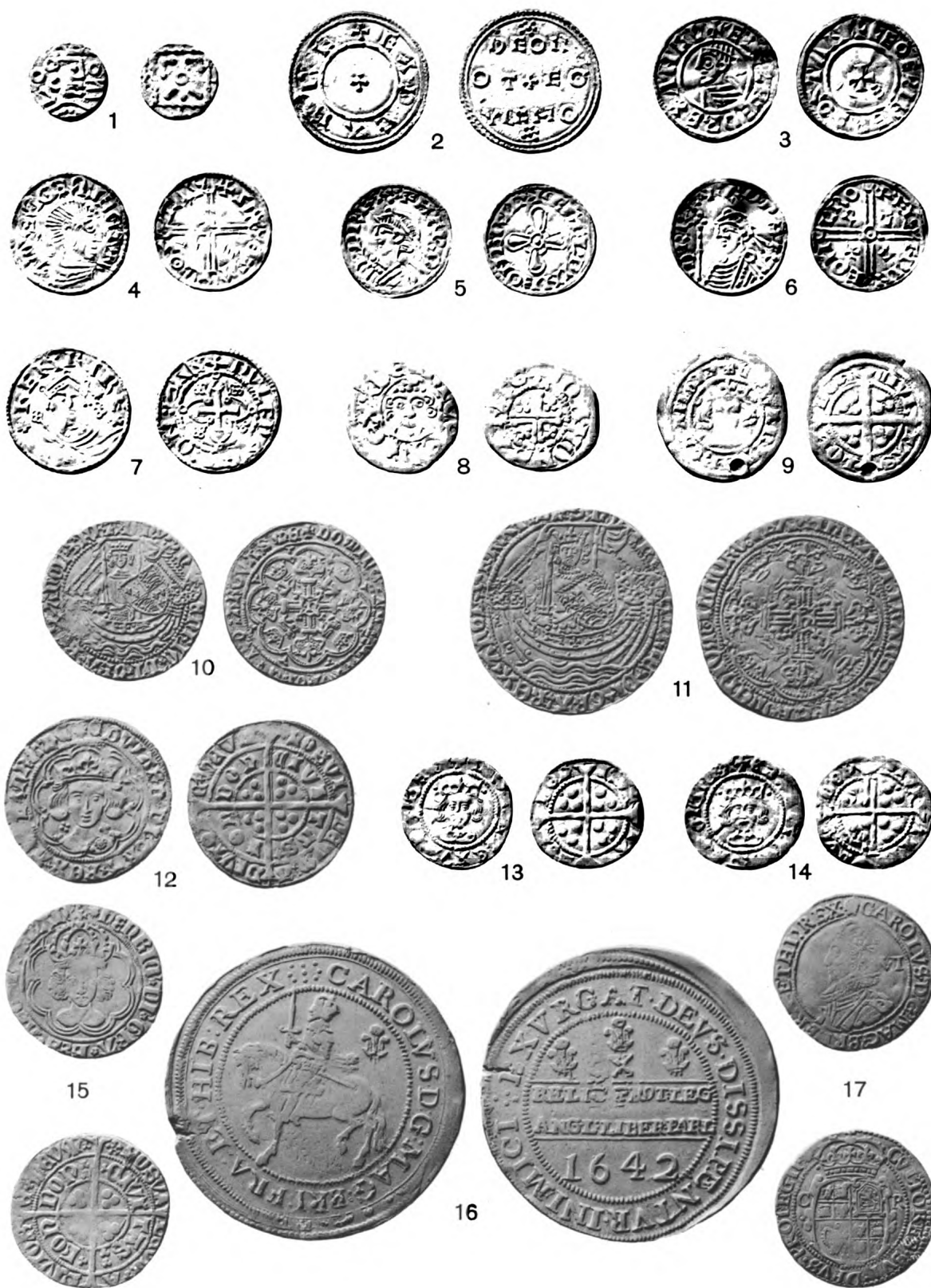
It must not be thought that we are encouraging general experiments to improve coins ; far from it, for none are more anxious that all antiquities should be carefully preserved than are we. But in most cabinets are rare pieces which, owing to their condition, are worthless in their present state and, as can be and is done in the case of valuable china, there seems no reason why they should not be restored to something approaching their original quality. Hence this useful work is brought to the notice of numismatologists in the hope that thereby something, at least, may be saved which would otherwise perish ; for it is easier to preserve than to create.

W. J. A.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

*From its inauguration upon November 30th, 1903,
to November 29th, 1904.*

SESSION 1903—1904.



MISCELLANEOUS EXHIBITS.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF MISCELLANEOUS EXHIBITS.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

1. Sceatta, base silver.

Obverse.—Bust to right; behind the head V and an annulet; before, an annulet and H I.

Reverse.—A square compartment enclosing ornaments, portion of a cross beyond each side. See p. 393.

2. Silver penny of Eadgar, 959–975.

Obverse.—Cross pattée.

Reverse.—Moneyer's name and mint TE in three lines. *W. C. Wells.*
See p. 393.

3. Silver penny of Æthelred II., 978–1016.

Obverse.—Bust to right.

Reverse.—Cross pattée, with the letter **Ⓜ** in the field. Stamford mint
W. C. Wells. See p. 393.

On p. 363 of *A Numismatic History of the reign of Henry I.*, Mr. Andrew wrote: "It follows that all the money struck by the Abbot of Peterborough's moneyer must bear the name of the Stamford mint, and . . . unless the Abbot was prepared to accept the responsibility for money issued before it was under his own control, some mark upon the new money was necessary for identification. . . . This was readily effected by the addition of a small ornament or device to the existing die." The discovery by Mr. Wells of this coin is direct evidence in support of the above theory, as the letter **Ⓜ** obviously stands for Medeshamstede the then name of the Abbey of Peterborough.

4. Silver penny of Æthelred II., of the Stamford mint. A variety of Hildebrand type D, having the bust to the right. *W. C. Wells.*
See p. 393.

5. Silver penny of Harold I., 1035-1040, Hildebrand type A. ÆGELPINE ON BRIC, Bristol. *W. Machado Maish.* See p. 421.
6. Silver penny of Edward the Confessor, 1041-1066. Hildebrand type D. Cricklade mint. *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton.* See p. 427.
7. Silver penny of Henry I., 1100-1135. Andrew type X, p. 392.
Reverse.—**†PVLFPART : ON : SÆM.** Bury St. Edmunds. *W. C. Wells.*
8. Silver penny of the Short-Cross Series, Class II-III (transitional), *circa* 1200. Bury St. Edmunds mint. *W. Sharp Ogden.* See p. 427.
9. Piedfort of a penny of Edward III., 1327-1377, of the London mint. *W. Sharp Ogden.* See p. 427.
10. Gold half-noble, *circa* 1413.
Obverse, showing the workmanship of the reign of Henry V.
Reverse, that of Henry IV.
11. Gold noble of Henry VI., 1422-1461. Annulet coinage, but of coarse workmanship, usually styled Flemish. *F. Dickinson.*
12. Silver groat of Edward IV., 1461-1483.
Obverse.—Rose on breast. London mint. *T. Bearman.* See p. 405.
13. Silver penny of Edward IV., of the heavy coinage. London mint. *W. Machado Maish.* See p. 388.
14. The like. *L. A. Lawrence.* See p. 388.
15. Silver groat of Henry VII., 1485-1509, which is the subject of Mr. Roth's paper on page 137 of this volume.
16. Silver half-pound piece of Charles I., 1625-1649, of the Shrewsbury mint. Hawkins type 1, but bearing evidence that it had previously been struck from the dies of type 3. *Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.* See p. 392.
17. Silver coin of Charles I., being a "mule" composed of the *obverse* die of the sixpence m.m. rose, and the *reverse* die of the half-unit with the same m.m. *Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.* See p. 418.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1903-1904.

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SIR FREDERICK D. DIXON-HARTLAND, BART., M.P., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD GRANTLEY, F.S.A., D.L., J.P.

SIR RALPH D. M. LITTLER, KNT., C.B., K.C., D.L., J.P.

Director.

L. A. LAWRENCE, ESQ., F.R.C.S.

Hon. Treasurer.

RUSSELL H. WOOD, ESQ., A.C.A.

Hon. Librarian.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT.D.

F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L.

Hon. Secretary.

W. J. ANDREW, ESQ., F.S.A.

Council.

J. B. CALDECOTT, ESQ.

MAJOR A. B. CREEKE.

H. ST. BARBE GOLDSMITH, ESQ.

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JOHN E. T. LOVEDAY, ESQ., J.P.

W. SHARP OGDEN, ESQ.

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W. TALBOT READY, ESQ.

BERNARD ROTH, ESQ., F.R.C.S., J.P.

S. M. SPINK, ESQ.

EDWARD UPTON, ESQ., F.Z.S.

PROFESSOR W. J. WHITTAKER, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Auditors.

UNDER CHAPTER XIX OF THE RULES.

H. ST. BARBE GOLDSMITH, ESQ.

RICHARD A. HOBLYN, ESQ., F.S.A.

Corresponding Members of the Council.

UNDER CHAPTER XVIII OF THE RULES.

COUNTRY.	DISTRICT.	MEMBER.
AMERICA ...	CHICAGO ...	VIRGIL M. BRAND, ESQ.
„ ...	NEW YORK...	LYMAN H. LOW, ESQ.
„ ...	WISCONSIN ...	F. C. SMITH, ESQ., E.M.
AUSTRALIA ...	MELBOURNE ...	A. CHITTY, ESQ.
BRITISH GUIANA...	DEMERARA ...	E. A. V. ABRAHAM, ESQ.
CANADA ...	BRITISH COLUMBIA...	R. L. REID, ESQ., LL.B.
„ ...	MONTREAL ...	R. W. McLACHLAN, ESQ., J.P.
ENGLAND ...	BRISTOL ...	W. MACHADO MAISH, ESQ.
„ ...	CHESTERFIELD ...	HERBERT PECK, ESQ., M.D.
„ ...	COLCHESTER ...	HENRY LAVER, ESQ., F.S.A., M.R.C.S., J.P.
„ ...	HALIFAX ...	S. H. HAMER, ESQ.
„ ...	NOTTINGHAM ...	SAMUEL PAGE, ESQ.
INDIA ...	BOMBAY ...	W. HAROLD KLOSZ, ESQ.
IRELAND ...	DUBLIN ...	G. D. BURTCHAELL, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.
„ ...	WEST ...	C. MacIVER GRIERSON, ESQ., R.I.
SCOTLAND ...	NORTH ...	SHERIFF MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT.

Clerk to the Council.

MR. H. E. RETHAM.

43, BEDFORD SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.

The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1903-1904.

INAUGURAL MEETING of the Society, held at the Rooms of the Society, at 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C., at 8.30 p.m., on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of November, 1903.

Moved by MR. L. A. LAWRENCE, seconded by MR. E. UPTON, and resolved that Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton be the provisional Chairman of the Meeting.

MR. CARLYON-BRITTON then occupied the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN read the notice calling the meeting, which had been duly posted to all Members of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN explained the objects of the Society and the proceedings leading to its formation. Moved by him, seconded by MR. UPTON, and resolved that the British Numismatic Society be declared duly established and constituted of the Members whose names are entered in the Register of Members, which Register was read by the Chairman.

Moved by MR. G. R. ASKWITH in an address on the general importance of the Society, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and resolved that Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., D.L., be President of the Society for the year 1903-1904.

The PRESIDENT, who had vacated the Chair, re-occupied it, and acknowledged the honour of the appointment. He read telegrams of

congratulation from Mr. Lyman H. Low, of New York, and the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley of East Rudham, Norfolk, both members of the Society.

Moved by the PRESIDENT and seconded by MR. HORACE LAMBERT, and resolved that the Most Hon. the Marquess of Ailesbury, the Right Hon. Lord Grantley, F.S.A., D.L., Sir Frederick D. Dixon-Hartland, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Sir Ralph D. M. Littler, Knt., C.B., K.C., D.L., G. R. Askwith, Esq., M.A., and F. A. Crisp, Esq., F.S.A., be the Vice-Presidents for the year.

Moved by MR. E. UPTON, seconded by MR. J. B. CALDECOTT, and resolved that Mr. L. A. Lawrence be the Director for the year.

MR. LAWRENCE replied.

Moved by MR. L. A. LAWRENCE, seconded by MR. R. A. HOBLYN, F.S.A., and resolved that Mr. R. H. Wood be the Treasurer for the year.

MR. WOOD replied.

Moved by PROFESSOR W. J. WHITTAKER, seconded by MR. W. J. ANDREW, and resolved that the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.H.S., be the Librarian for the year.

Moved by the TREASURER, seconded by LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, and resolved that Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., be the Secretary for the year.

MR. ANDREW replied.

Moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. F. J. THAIRLWALL, and resolved that the following Members be the Council for the year :—

J. B. Caldecott, Esq.
Major A. B. Creeke.
H. St. Barbe Goldsmith, Esq.
Nathan Heywood, Esq.
R. W. Hudleston, Esq.
Horace Lambert, Esq.
Philip G. Laver, Esq.
John E. T. Loveday, Esq.

W. Sharp Ogden, Esq.
George Patrick, Esq.
W. Talbot Ready, Esq.
Bernard Roth, Esq.
S. M. Spink, Esq.
Edward Upton, Esq.
Professor W. J. Whittaker.

The PRESIDENT was proceeding to read the proposed Rules of the Society, printed copies of which were supplied to the Members

present, when at the instance of MR. F. STROUD, the meeting expressed the view that this was not necessary. He therefore confined his remarks to calling attention to and explaining reasons for Chapter VII, Rules 5 to 10 inclusive, and, in reply to MR. H. LAMBERT, Chapter XX. After other questions had been invited it was moved by him, seconded by MR. E. UPTON, and resolved that the Rules of the Society, as printed, save that the words "half-past eight" be substituted for "eight" in Chapter V, Rule 1, be adopted and passed as the Rules of the British Numismatic Society.

Moved by MR. STROUD, seconded by MR. A. F. A. TREHEARNE, and resolved that the preliminary proceedings which had been undertaken to establish the Society and to further its interests be adopted and confirmed, and in particular that the Petition to His Majesty for the grant of a Royal Charter, which had been already presented on behalf of the Society, be adopted and confirmed.

The PRESIDENT explained that it was now necessary to formally confirm the original Petition by presenting a Supplemental Petition to that effect which he read to the Meeting.

Moved by MR. STROUD, seconded by PROFESSOR WHITTAKER, and resolved that the Supplemental Petition as read be adopted by the Society, and that the Secretary duly lodge the same with the Clerk to the Privy Council.

The PRESIDENT, after inviting suggestions from Members, declared the business of the Meeting concluded.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 13th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the INAUGURAL MEETING, held on the 30th November, 1903, were read by the Director, confirmed and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of Candidates for Election and the names of the signatories thereto, viz.:—

Roy Webb Armstrong, Esq.
 W. Bruce Bannerman, Esq.,
 F.S.A.
 A. H. Bodkin, Esq.
 The Bodleian Library.
 Victor David Brenner, Esq.
 Francis George Bridgman, Esq.
 Charles Adolphus Briggs, Esq.
 The Cardiff Free Libraries.
 Miss Mary Louise Cox.
 James Henry Crofts, Esq.
 Roland Arthur Elliot, Esq.
 John Frederick Fogerty, Esq.
 Rainald William Knightley
 Goddard, Esq.
 Edward Acraman Greenslade,
 Esq.
 John Cathles Hill, Esq.
 Travers Humphreys, Esq.
 The Trustees of the National
 Library of Ireland.

The Leeds Public Free Libraries.
 Robert Edward Leman, Esq.
 Stuart Archibald Moore, Esq.,
 F.S.A.
 Lieut.-Col. W. Llewellyn Morgan,
 R.E.
 Arthur Prichard, Esq.
 James Thomas Taverner Reed,
 Esq.
 Robie Lewis Reid, Esq.
 Joseph Samuel Rubinstein, Esq.
 The Rev. John Samuel.
 John Walter Scott, Esq.
 Edward Ralph Serocold-Skeels,
 Esq.
 Charles William Sheppard, Esq.
 W. Beresford Smith, Esq.
 Miss Ethel Stokes.
 George Stoner, Esq.
 George Clark Suttie, Esq.,
 F.S.A.Scot.

William Gullan Taylor, Esq.
 Charles Louis Thompson, Esq.
 Isaac Walton, Esq.
 The Warrington Municipal
 Museum.
 Edwin Hubert Waters, Esq.

John West, Esq.
 Arthur White Westhorpe, Esq.
 Benjamin Winstone, Esq., M.D.
 John George Wylie, Esq.
 Andrew C. Zabriskie, Esq.
 Farran Zerbe, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON, and carried unanimously that these Certificates be suspended and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

List of Donations to Library, etc.

The PRESIDENT read the list of presentations to the Society, viz. :—

- Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—*Martin Folkes*. Plates of English coins formerly belonging to Mr. James Cowles Prichard of Ross, Herefordshire, with copy by him of *Notes of English Coins*, from the manuscript of Dr. Andrew Gifford of the British Museum, annexed to his own copy of this work.
- Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—*The Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage and Patterns for Coins of England*, by H. Montagu (1885).
- Messrs. Spink and Son. — *The Numismatic Circular*. Vol. XI. 1903.
- Mr. E. J. Seltman.—Photographs of a Roman bronze standard, and a Roman Commander's chair of office, with a description of each endorsed.
- Mr. F. C. Smith of Arizona.—Bronze Medal struck 25th February, 1901, on the dedication of the Capitol of Arizona at Phoenix.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to the various donors of these presentations.

Exhibitions.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the various coins of interest would be submitted to the Members for inspection, viz. :—

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—A heavy penny of Edward IV., of the London mint, and Henry VIII., groat m. m. grapel. Weight, 14 grains. Plate, Fig. 13, p. 378.

Mr. F. C. Smith.—Bronze Medal struck 25th February, 1901, on the dedication of the Capitol of Arizona at Phoenix.

The President.—Pennies of Harold II. (Bedford) ; William I. (Cricklade), Hawkins, 238, Fig. 1 of Plate III to *Buried Treasure*, p. 26. William II. (Bedford), Hawkins, 246 ; William II. (Southwark), Hawkins, 248.

The PRESIDENT called attention to the Cricklade coin being over-struck on a coin of the type immediately preceding it (Hawkins, 237), and to both the Bedford coins being by the moneyer **SIGOD**, the coin of William II. being also an over-struck piece.

MR. CALDECOTT exhibited a Spanish dollar countermarked for use in Canada in 1765, and read the note upon it which is printed in this volume.

MR. LIONEL L. FLETCHER exhibited an interesting series of early Scottish tokens of a bracteate character.

The DIRECTOR exhibited two Burgundian nobles and some foreign sterlings, and called attention to the marked resemblance in workmanship which they bore to their English prototypes, and to the assistance that these coins would give in determining the dates of issue of the coins of the early Plantagenet kings. The Director also exhibited his specimen of the heavy penny of Edward IV., Plate, Fig. 14, p. 378, which, with the exception of that shown by Mr. Maish, is the only specimen known to exist. The obverses of both coins were from the same die, but the extra pellets in two angles of the cross of the reverse are in different quarters.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be returned to the exhibitors.

Papers.

The PRESIDENT read a letter received from Mr. Loveday as to his absence from the Meeting that evening, and called upon the Director to read Mr. Loveday's paper, entitled, "The Henry VIII. Medal or pattern crown." The same having been read, an interesting discussion followed, in which the Director adduced some arguments in favour of the piece being a coin and not a medal. Mr. Hoblyn agreed with this opinion, and said that he had a reproduction of the piece, which he promised to exhibit at the next meeting of the Society.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, and carried unanimously, that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Loveday for his paper, which is printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Bernard Roth to read his paper on "A find of clippings of silver coins at Marcham, near Abingdon."

During the reading of Mr. Roth's paper, three trays containing some of the clippings classified by him as belonging to the series of coinages from the time of Edward VI. to and inclusive of the first issue of Charles II., and another tray containing a mass of the clippings, 1 lb. odd in weight, and photographs, were submitted to the Members for inspection.

It was suggested by a Member that the clippings had been cut in another manner than by clippers, but Mr. Roth demonstrated beyond doubt by two cuttings, one by clippers and the other by a pair of shears, that the coins had been clipped, for when cut with the shears the pieces cut curled up, whilst those clipped remained perfectly flat.

The PRESIDENT commented upon Mr. Roth's most interesting paper, as also did the Director, and moved that a vote of thanks be returned to Mr. Roth. Carried unanimously.

Mr. Roth then handed in his paper, a photograph of the clippings

and the negative thereof for the use of the Society. The paper is printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the next ordinary meeting, declared the business of the Meeting concluded.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 17th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 13th January, 1904, were read by the Director, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of thirty-five Candidates for Election received since the last Meeting, and the names of the signatories thereto), viz. :—

Ernest Henry Abbott, Esq.
Judge L. H. Bancroft, LL.D.
Charles William Bartholomew,
Esq., M.A.
Thomas Bearman, Esq.
The Berlin Royal Library.
George Burt, Esq.
Ward Coldridge, Esq., M.A.
Reginald G. Davis, Esq.
Harold H. A. de Laessoe, Esq.
James Carlton Eckersley, Esq.,
M.A.
Henry Gervis, Esq., M.D.

Herbert Hill, Esq.
Victor Tylston Hodgson, Esq.
Alfred R. Holland, Esq., F.Z.S.
William Edward Kelly, Esq.,
D.L.
Thomas Leighton, Esq.
Hubert Stuart Moore, Esq.
The Oldham Free Library
Committee.
William Thomas Paulin, Esq.
Hugh Charles Penfold, Esq.
John Alexander Richards, Esq.,
B.A.

The Right Hon. Sir James
Thomson Ritchie, Bart.
Charles J. Ritchie, Esq.
William T. Rolfe, Esq.
John Roskill, Esq., K.C.
The John Rylands Library,
Manchester.
John Burham Safford, Esq.,
F.G.S.
William Francis Scutt, Esq.

John Medows Theobald, Esq.
General Sir Charles Warren,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
Thomas Robert Way, Esq.
The Rev. Charles Arthur
Williamson, M.A.
Julius Witte, Esq.
Thomas Cecil Smith Woolley,
Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by the Director and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended and it was ordered that the candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

List of Donations to Library, etc.

The PRESIDENT read the list of presentations to the Society, viz.:—

Lieut.-Col. Morrieson—

H. W. Henfrey.—Guide to English Coins.

Major W. S. Thorburn.—Guide to the coins of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. S. H. Hamer—

Medal of the Municipal Technical School, Halifax, in copper.

Mr. Hamer's private token in aluminium.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to the donors of these presentations.

Royal Charter.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the Society had been unable to obtain this, and that he had had an interview with Mr. Harrison of the Privy Council Office that day, from whom he had gathered that this Society was at present too young to obtain a Royal Charter. It was proposed by MR. CALDECOTT, seconded by

MR. UPTON, and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be accorded the President in recognition of his efforts in endeavouring to obtain a grant of the Charter. The President replied and urged the members to do their utmost to increase the membership and prosperity of the Society in the hope that a future application might be attended by success.

Balloting.

The PRESIDENT declared the ballot to be open from 9 to 9.15 p.m. and this having taken place he announced that all the forty-four candidates had been elected, and declared them to be Members of the Society.

Exhibitions.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—Medal of the Halifax Municipal Technical School in copper.

His own private token in aluminium.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn.—A specimen of the crown or medal of Henry VIII., which he explained differed from the engravings in Snelling, Pembroke, Ruding and Crowther; the bust being full face instead of three-quarters face, and he was of opinion that it was struck, and of silver, but was inclined to believe that it was a Dutch imitation of the original, of subsequent date, and that the Dutch Crown of Cromwell presented a similar case in point. As to this coin see Mr. Loveday's paper and plate in this volume.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—A groat of Henry VII. weighing 45.6 grs. troy, purchased by him at the Montagu sale of May, 1896, and read the note thereon which is printed in this volume. See also Fig. 15 of the plate, p. 378.

Lieut.-Col. Morrieson.—A Shrewsbury half pound which was a variety of Hawkins No. 1 (similar to Lot 539,

Montagu Sale, 3rd portion), the same having been previously struck from the dies of the type Hawkins No. 3, and he called attention to the fact that on the obverse could be seen traces of the piles of arms, etc. under the horse, legend and outer circle, and on the reverse the Declaration legend and outer circle of the earlier striking, Fig. 16 of the plate, p. 378.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A penny of William I. of the bonnet type (Hawkins, 234), reading **✠ EDPI ON HEREFORI** and over-struck on a coin of Hawkins 233, distinct traces of the old reverse design being visible through the pattern of the new reverse, and slight indications of the profile obverse being also observable through the new obverse design, and

Five Henry II. pennies (1st issue) viz. :—(1) Mint name, **SALOPES**, Shrewsbury, presumed to be unique, Fig. 19 of the plate to Mr. Heywood's paper, p. 98 ; (2) A variety with Greek crosses on the reverse ; (3) Newark, an ecclesiastical mint ; annulets instead of pellets on the bust, fine portrait ; (4) Illegible mint, but especially fine portrait ; (5) a cut-halfpenny.

Mr. Wells.—(1) A base silver sceatta, Fig. 1, of the plate, p. 378. A penny of Edgar of the mint reading **TE**, Fig. 2 of the plate ; (2) Ethelred II., Hildebrand Type D, but bust to right instead of to the left, **SCOT m-O STAN**, Stamford, Fig. 4 of the plate ; (3) A penny of Æthelred II., Hildebrand Type A + **LEOFINE m-O STAN**, Stamford, but **m** in the field, Fig. 3 of the plate and see p. 378 ; (4) William I., bonnet type reading **✠ SÆPINE ON NODHANT** Northampton ; (5) Same type reading **LEOFINE ON BVRI**.

MR. WELLS was of opinion that the first mentioned coin was only copper-plated and therefore a contemporary forgery, the weight thereof supporting his opinion.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott exhibited the coin and read the following note :—



PORT PHILIP, AUSTRALIA, ONE OUNCE GOLD PIECE, 1853.

This piece forms one of a set of two, one, half and quarter ounce pieces of which a very few were issued in 1853, soon after the first gold rush in Australia, and which were probably struck from dies engraved in England.

This issue comes between the Adelaide sovereign of 1852, and the regular issues of the Sydney mint in 1855; the coins are evidently patterns for a token currency of gold pieces of high value, similar to those for £5 and £2, which it was proposed to issue from the Adelaide Assay Office at the same time as the sovereign before-mentioned.



ADELAIDE ASSAY OFFICE £5 PIECE.

A set of all the four values is in the British Museum; the mint collection at Philadelphia contains the two, and half ounce pieces, and specimens of the one, half, and quarter ounces were sold in the Montagu Colonial section at Messrs. Sothebys in 1892.

These last three pieces, together with a duplicate quarter ounce, were again sold in the Murdoch sale of July last year, and with the one-ounce piece here shown, are the only genuine original specimens of this issue that I have met with, outside the British and Philadelphia Mint Museums.

I use the words "genuine and original" advisedly, as of the two-ounce pieces (of which there were two of 1853, and one of 1854) in the Murdoch sale, those of 1853 had all the appearance of recent striking, and that of 1854, of being from an altered die. They were undoubtedly all recent strikings, and, by that happy blindness which so often upsets the plans of the counterfeiter and restriker, they were struck in gold alloyed with copper, instead of with silver, of which latter alloy all the genuine specimens are, and the milling on the edges was finer than on the real piece.

These remarks, except as to the metal, apply to the strikings in lead and copper of the two-ounce pieces of 1853 and 1854 in the same sale.

The die of the two-ounce piece is, I believe, now in the hands of the Melbourne Mint, but I suspect that its date has been altered to produce the specimens of 1854.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Three halfpennies of George I., viz., the ordinary types of 1718 and 1719, in comparison with an unique example with obverse of 1718 and reverse of 1719, the coin being a mule.



A REMARKABLE HALFPENNY OF GEORGE I.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—A Clanerough. co. Kerry, token, dated 1667. He stated that after the Restoration, Sir William Petty, who had obtained an extensive grant of land in this district, planted a colony of English there in 1670, at an expense of £10,000, established ironworks and a fishery on an extensive scale, and contributed much to the improvement of this wild part of the country.

Paper.

The PRESIDENT stated that he had received a telegram from Mr. Nathan Heywood as to his absence from the Meeting that evening, and called upon the Director to read Mr. Heywood's paper entitled, "The first coinage of Henry II." The same having been read, an interesting discussion followed. The President remarked that the coins struck at Carlisle, Durham, Newcastle and York, could be easily distinguished from those of other mints, the specimens being well rounded. MR. OGDEN suggested that the five crosses on the reverse represented the five crosses of dedication as placed on church altars of the period, a cross being placed at each of the four corners and the fifth in the middle.

The PRESIDENT was of opinion that Mr. Ogden's suggestion was worthy of consideration and advised him to see Mr. Nathan Heywood and confer with him thereon before the paper was printed. It was moved by the President and put to the Meeting and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Nathan Heywood for his paper, which is printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the next Ordinary Meeting, declared the business of the Meeting concluded.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 23rd, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 17th February, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of fifty-two Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz.:—

The Aberdeen Public Library.	The Göttingen Royal University Library.
The Advocates Library, Edinburgh.	George Clementson Greenwell, Esq., F.G.S.
Frank Armstrong, Esq.	Philip Harbord, Esq.
Henry Bailey, Esq.	Reginald Charles Harpur, Esq.
The Blackburn Free Library, Museum and Art Gallery.	F. W. Harris, Esq.
Stanley Bousfield, Esq., M.A.	J. Coolidge Hills, Esq.
The Corporation of Burnley.	John Hutchins, Esq.
John William Carter, Esq.	Brownlow D. Knox, Esq.
Edwin Beresford Chancellor, Esq., M.A.	Herr Rudolph Kube.
The Chetham's Library, Manchester.	Frederick W. Lawrence, Esq., M.R.A.S.
John Chivers, Esq.	The Leigh Public Library.
Luther Clements, Esq.	William H. Massey, Esq.
Charles J. Cohen, Esq.	Walter Elliot Murphy, Esq.
The Derby Free Public Library.	The New York Library.
Frederick Edward Eiloart, Esq.	Thurston Collins Peter, Esq.
Miss S. G. Garstang.	Leslie J. A. Pile, Esq., B.A., LL.B.
	John Edward Piper, Esq.

Mde. Raymond-Serrure.
 Henry Douglas Rhodes, Esq.
 Harry Weller Richards, Esq.
 The Committee of the Rochdale
 Public Libraries, Art Gallery,
 and Museum.
 H. Ling Roth, Esq.
 John Sheer, Esq.
 Alfred Simson, Esq.
 The Rev. J. A. Stewart.
 Claude Trevine Symons, Esq.,
 B.A.

Frederick Toplis, Esq.
 The University Library, Cam-
 bridge.
 George Unwin, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
 Alfred Vernon, Esq.
 Edward Lake Walker, Esq.
 Septimus H. Ward, Esq.
 George Wheeler, Esq.
 W. F. Whetstone, Esq.
 The Wigan Public Library.
 Thomas Wolfenden, Esq.

Field Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G.—*Honorary Member.*

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by the DIRECTOR, and carried unanimously, that the Certificates for ordinary membership be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the Ordinary Meeting on the 25th instant.

It was also moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON, and carried unanimously, that the Certificate of Field Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., for election as an Honorary Member under Chapter X of the Rules, be suspended, and that the ballot take place on the 13th April next.

Admission.

Mr. Francis George Bridgman was duly admitted a Member of the Society.

Ballot.

The ballot for the thirty-five members proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 17th February, took place, and the President announced that all the thirty-five candidates had been elected, and declared them to be Members of the Society.

List of Donations to the Library.

The Rev. G. S. Tyack presented the following twenty-one volumes to the Society :—

Akerman, John Y. A Numismatic Manual; or guide to the study of Greek, Roman and English coins; with plates from the originals.

Akerman, John Y. Coins of the Romans relating to Britain described and illustrated.

Boyne, William. The Silver Tokens of Great Britain and Ireland, the Dependencies, and Colonies, with plates.

Hazlitt, W. Carew. The Coinage of the European Continent, with an introduction and catalogues of mints, denominations and rulers, with illustrations.

Head, Barclay V. A guide to the principal gold and silver coins of the ancients, from *circ.* B.C. 700 to A.D. 1, with plates.

Henry, J. The Series of English Coins, in Copper, Tin and Bronze.

Heywood, Nathan. The Early Coinage of Henry Plantagenet.

Howorth, Daniel F. Coins and Tokens of the English Colonies.

Humphreys, H. Noel. The Coin Collector's Manual, with plates.

Jewitt, Llewellynn. Handbook of English Coins, with plates.

Kenyon, Robert Lloyd. The Gold Coins of England, with plates.

Lane-Poole, Stanley. Coins and Medals (their place in history and art), with illustrations.

Madden, Fred W. The Handbook of Roman Numismatics, with illustrations.

Madden, Fred W. History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testaments, with illustrations.

Montagu, H. The Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage, and Pattern for Coins of England.

Nunn, C. H. *The Numismatic Magazine*, 2 Vols., 6 and 7.

The Numismatist. Three years 1891-2-3.

Stainsfield, C. W. Descriptive Catalogue of Australian Tradesmen's Tokens, with illustrations.

Stevenson, S. W. A Dictionary of Roman Coins.

Messrs. Spink and Son :—

Numismatic Circular. Five Volumes 1 to 10.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT and carried unanimously, that a vote of thanks be given to the donors of these presentations.

Alterations of Rules.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the Council had unanimously resolved to recommend the following amendments to the Rules, viz. :—

1. The addition of the following words to Section V, of Chapter I.

“The term member shall also include any Corporation, Committee, Library, Association, Institution, Club, Company or any Office or Appointment, but the subscription for such membership shall not be compounded under Section II, of Chapter IV.”

2. That in the first paragraph of Section I, of Chapter IV, of the Rules, the date 1904 shall be altered to 1905.

The drafts of the suggested amendments were thereupon suspended pursuant to the Rules.

Seal.

The PRESIDENT directed the attention of the Meeting to the drawing of the proposed Seal of the Society, which had been approved by the Council subject to the same being exhibited at this meeting, and at that to be held on the 25th instant, and to no alternative design being preferred.

Exhibitions.

The President.—A collection of 154 coins of the first issue of Henry II.

Mr. Charles E. Simpson.—A sixpence of Elizabeth, dated 1602, with m.m. 1, and another of 1601, with the same m. m. for comparison.

Mr. Maish.—A Weymouth half crown of Charles I., m.m. Castle; “W” under horse, grass under horse’s feet, lion rampant before and after **AVSPICE**, said to be the only piece having the whole of the arms of Weymouth upon it, viz. :—a castle and two lions.

Henry VIII. Posui Groat, m.m. obv., pheon, rev., an object like an inverted “air-bell” or “blue-bell,” curious portrait.

Henry VII., York half groat, second issue, m.m. lys (unpublished m.m.).

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—Two specimens of the “Hog Money” shilling (copper-plated), struck for Somers Island.

Mr. F. W. Marks.—Portrait medal of Edward VI.

Mr. F. Stroud.—A gold stater of Philip of Macedon and an ancient British stater of a type which, although much degraded, was derived therefrom. As follows :—



PHILIP OF MACEDON,
PROTOTYPE.



BRITISH VERSION OF
SAME TYPE.

Paper.

By the Director.—“Notes on the coinage of Edward IV. suggested by a recent find of coins.” The same having been read and illustrated by a number of specimens exhibited by the writer to the meeting, a

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short discussion followed and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Director for his paper, which appears in this volume.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the Ordinary Meeting on the 25th instant, declared the business of the Meeting concluded.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 25th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

EXHIBITION MEETING.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 23rd March, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of four Candidates for ordinary membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz.:—

Edward Jones, Esq.

James William Miller, Esq.

James Clifton Robinson, Esq.

Mrs. Martin Wood.

• It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the fifty-two candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 23rd March took place, and the President announced that all had been elected and declared them to be Members of the Society.

Seal.

The design chosen by the Council on the 23rd instant and shown at the Ordinary Meeting on that day, the same being designed by the President, Director and Secretary, from the reverse of a medal of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, dated 1745, was again exhibited and, no alternative device having been suggested, the design was adopted as the Seal of the Society.

Admissions.

Thomas Bearman, Esq., J. W. Carter, Esq., L. Clements, Esq., J. Sheer, Esq., and W. Beresford Smith, Esq., were duly admitted Members of the Society.

Exhibitions.

The Secretary.—A silver box with a medallion portrait of Queen Anne. It was the opinion of Mr. Bernard Roth and Mr. Webster that the box was used for the purpose of containing jetons.

The President.—Two pennies of Alfred the Great (in perfect condition) with bust to right. Reverse the moneyer TILEVINE and small monogram of LONDONIA, the obverse of both being from the same die, whereas the reverse dies differed materially. Also a collection of 154 Hiberno-Danish pennies mostly in mint state, and including many unpublished types and varieties.

Mr. W. J. Webster.—A coin weighing 84 grains of Cunobeline, King of the Trinobantes *circ.* B.C. 5—A.D. 43. Obverse CVNOBELIN. Two horses galloping to the left, above, part of a leaf and under the horses a wheel of four spokes with pellet in each angle, with legend on a curved exergual tablet. Reverse, CAMVL[odunum] (Colchester) inscribed on a tablet with annular terminations placed crosswise on a wreath of five folds, in the angles are V-shaped objects

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alternately plain and beaded. This coin was found at Bognor. Fig. 25 of the plate, p. 354.

Mr. H. Fentiman.—A silver-gilt and saw-pierced badge of the "Sublime Society of Beefsteaks." Obverse, a gridiron surrounded by a ribbon inscribed, ESTO PERPETUA AD LIBITUM. Reverse, in script characters, "*Col. Dudley Ackland.*" Mr. Fentiman read a short account of the Society, which met behind the scenes of the Lyceum on the western side of which is now Wellington Street, and in the days of the Regency numbered amongst its members the Regent and his brother, with Sheridan, Garrick, Burdett, Wilkes, Brougham, etc.

Mr. L. Clements.—*Tokens.* A Risca penny said to be unique—RISCA PENNY, 1811, usual type. Bissets half-penny token without pictures on obverse, unique, said to be the only one struck. Bissets halfpenny token with pictures on obverse for comparison. A penny of Southwark SAMVELL . FERRIS . AT VE . IN with head of Queen Elizabeth, unique. George III., threepence, 1762, countermarked DE under a crown for use in Demerara.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—A fine collection of Anglo-Gallic coins of gold and silver, including some unique and rare varieties.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—A series of the early coinage of Massachusetts, New England, Carolina and Maryland, viz. :—A New England shilling to which Mr. Caldecott called attention because of the many forgeries of it upon cast or not-hammered flans. A specimen, probably the finest known, of the "Willow Tree" sixpence, from the Murchison collection. A trial of a Pine Tree shilling die in copper and evidently blundered. A very rare type of the Pine Tree sixpence. The series of shilling, sixpence and groat, issued by Lord Baltimore for

Maryland, the last piece rare. The only known specimen of the Lord Baltimore-sixpence struck in copper. Specimens of the Carolina halfpennies reading proprietors and proprietors, the latter being very scarce.

Mr. J. W. Carter.—*Tokens*. Coventry halfpenny, Gloucester token, Liverpool halfpenny, Ipswich token, Edinburgh halfpenny. Twopenny piece with arms of Norwich and two others.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—A remarkable proof or trial striking of the crown, half-crown, shilling and sovereign of 1819. The whole four pieces are struck upon a single piece of white metal, circular in form, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 1 inch in thickness.

Mr. Thomas Bearman.—An unpublished light groat of Edward IV. with a rose on the king's left breast. Mr. Bearman stated that Mr. Grueber was of opinion that the rose had been added in modern times, but all present agreed that the rose was impressed by the original die when the coin was struck. Fig. 12 of the plate, p. 378.

Mr. F. Stroud.—A small round silver box formerly the property of Prince Rupert, with his name and date, 1629, engraved thereon at a later date. Also five crowns of Charles I., viz. :—four of the Exeter mint and one of the Tower mint, m.m. *tun*.

The Director.—His series of forgeries of Norman coins.

After an interesting discussion of the exhibits the PRESIDENT gave notice of the Meeting on the 13th April, and the business terminated.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 13th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,

President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 25th March, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of ten Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz.:—

Edward A. V. Abraham, Esq.	Daniel Fowler Howorth, Esq.
Harry Courthope-Munroe, Esq., M.A.	Robert Kelly Idler, Esq.
Thomas L. Elder, Esq.	William George Jerrems, Jun., Esq.
The Guildhall Library.	William Lurcott, Esq.
Robin Percy Hamp, Esq.	William John Rees, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

Ballot.

The Ballot for an Honorary Member, viz. :—Field Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., took place, and the PRESIDENT announced that he had been elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Ballot for the four candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 25th March, took place, and the PRESIDENT announced that all had been elected, and declared them to be Members of the Society.

Admissions.

Mr. R. W. K. Goddard, Mr. J. B. Safford and Mr. F. Toplis were duly admitted Members of the Society.

The following eighty-one Members were also admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules of the Society, viz. :—

Frank Armstrong, Esq.
C. W. Bartholomew, Esq., M.A.
W. Bruce Bannerman, Esq.,
F.S.A.
The Berlin Royal Library.
The Blackburn Free Library,
Museum and Art Gallery.
A. H. Bodkin, Esq.
The Bodleian Library.
Stanley Bousfield, Esq., M.A.
V. D. Brenner, Esq.
C. A. Briggs, Esq., F.E.S.
G. Burt, Esq.
The Cardiff Free Libraries.
The Chetham's Library, Man-
chester.
C. J. Cohen, Esq.
Ward Coldridge, Esq., M.A.
Miss Mary Louise Cox.
J. H. Crofts, Esq.
H. H. A. de Laessoe, Esq.
The Derby Free Public Library.
Miss S. G. Garstang.
Henry Gervis, Esq., M.D.
G. C. Greenwell, Esq., F.G.S.
P. Harbord, Esq.
Herbert Hill, Esq.
Travers Humphreys, Esq.
W. E. Kelly, Esq., D.L.
Brownlow D. Knox, Esq.
Herr Rudolf Kube.
F. W. Lawrence, Esq.

The Leeds Central Free Public
Library.
T. Leighton, Esq.
R. E. Leman, Esq.
F. S. Lyddon, Esq.
W. H. Massey, Esq.
Stuart A. Moore, Esq., F.S.A.
Lieut.-Col. W. L. Morgan
W. E. Murphy, Esq.
The New York Public Library.
H. C. Penfold, Esq., M.A.
T. C. Peter, Esq.
L. J. Acton Pile, Esq., B.A.,
LL.B.
J. E. Piper, Esq., LL.B.
A. Prichard, Esq.
H. D. Rhodes, Esq.
The Right Hon. Sir James
Thomson Ritchie, Bart.
Charles J. Ritchie, Esq.
The Committee of the Rochdale
Public Libraries, Art Gallery
and Museum.
William Rolfe, Esq.
John Roskill, Esq., K.C.
H. Ling Roth, Esq.
J. S. Rubinstein, Esq.
J. B. Safford, Esq., F.G.S.
The Rev. J. Samuel.
John Walter Scott, Esq.
W. F. Scutt, Esq.
E. R. Serocold-Skeels, Esq.

C. W. Sheppard, Esq.	The Warrington Municipal
Alfred Simson, Esq.	Museum.
The Rev. J. A. Stewart.	E. H. Waters, Esq.
Miss Ethel Stokes.	Thomas Robert Way, Esq.
C. T. Symons, Esq.	John West, Esq.
G. C. Suttie, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.	George Wheeler, Esq.
William G. Taylor, Esq.	W. F. Whetstone, Esq.
J. M. Theobald, Esq.	Benjamin Winstone, Esq., M.D.
C. L. Thompson, Esq.	Julius Witte, Esq.
Frederick Toplis, Esq.	Thos. Wolfenden, Esq.
E. L. Walker, Esq.	T. C. S. Woolley, Esq.
Septimus H. Ward, Esq.	J. G. Wylie, Esq.
General Sir Charles Warren,	Andrew C. Zabriskie, Esq.
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S.	

Exhibitions.

PHILIPPUS-DAELDRE OF BRUGES.

Mr. Bernard Roth. — 1. Philippus-Daeldre of Bruges. Obverse, PHS · D : G · HISP · ANG · Z · REX · COMES · FLAN · 1557 · Bust of King to right in armour. Reverse, · DOMINV · MICHI · ADIVTOR · with mint-mark “lys” which is that of Bruges. Shield of the Spanish arms crowned on a cross fleury.



PHILIPPUS-DAELDRE OF ANTWERP.

2. Philippus-Daeldre of Antwerp. Obverse, PHILIPPVS · D · G · HISP · ANG · Z · REX · DVX · BRAB · 1558 · Bust of King to left in armour. Reverse, · DOMINVS · MICHI · ADIVTOR, with mint-mark "hand," which is that of Antwerp, shield of the Spanish arms crowned on cross fleury.



PHILIPPUS-DAELDRE OF MAESTRICHT.

3. Philippus-Daeldre of Maestricht. Obverse, · PHS · D · G · HISP · ANG · Z · REX · DVX · BRAB · 1558 · Bust of King to the left in armour. Reverse, DOMINVS · MICHI · ADIVTOR, with mint-mark "Star" of five points which is that of Maestricht. Shield of Spanish arms crowned on cross fleury.
4. Contemporary forgery of a Philippus-Daeldre of Maestricht, similar to the preceding, but with the date 1563, which is remarkable, because Queen Mary died in

1558. The specimen is of copper with a thick coating of silver, and has evidently been in circulation.

- Mr. H. M. Reynolds.—A mule, obverse of type 233, reverse of type 234 (Hawkins, type 235), of William I., reading, obverse **✠ PILLEMV RE✠ II** and reverse **✠ AGEMVND ON LIN** (Lincoln). A mule, obverse, type 244, reverse, type 246 (Hawkins, 245), double struck bearing portions of the reverse die on the obverse and *vice versa*, reading obverse **✠ PILLE . . . ✠ I** (turned in die), and reverse **✠ GODPINE ON . . . L** (turned in die), probably **PINE** for Winchester. A specimen of Hawkins, type 247, reading obverse, **✠ PILLELMRE✠**, and reverse, **✠ DVRLIT ON BRIISI** (Bristol).
- Mr. Talbot Ready.—A rare pattern coin in copper of Charles I. with obverse name and titles around the royal arms; reverse EXVRGAT legend around large portcullis crowned, possibly intended like its prototype of Elizabeth's reign for circulation in the East Indies. The piece is described as a medalette in "Medallic Illustrations," and in the National Collection there is a perfect specimen.
- Mr. Lionel Fletcher.—A tray containing boundary tokens of Gateshead, Hareshaw, Blanchland and Winlaton.
- Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—Countermarked Spanish dollar 1778, with the countermark "&" beneath a crown. This countermark is probably a monogram. It reads when looked at from the right, sideways, as an *ℰ* with an extra stroke. When read upright it is the "&" and when looked at from the left side it reads as a *℄*. This makes the whole *ℰ* and *℄*, and was probably intended for the colony of Essequibo and Demerara. See No. 15A, Plate II to Mr. Caldecott's paper on "The Spanish Dollar as adapted for Currency in our West Indian Colonies," in this volume.
- A tray of Edward VII. Colonial coins shown to illustrate how

low the art of die sinking has fallen in the present reign.

The Director.—Four forgeries of ancient British coins struck in part from identical dies. A quarter noble of Henry IV., struck in silver and gilt. A base-metal gilded seven-shilling piece of George III., 1804. A contemporary forgery of the type of Henry III.'s long cross coinage.

Papers.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—“A unique penny of Aethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury A.D., 870–889.” Mr. Ready exhibited the coin (Lot 44, Murdoch Collection), obverse + EDELRED ARCHIEP diademed bust to right, no inner circle, reverse + TORHTVND disposed in the angles of a beaded cross with ornamental voided centre, within which is a cross pattée, two concentric circles, the outer beaded, enclosing a legend and all but the outer points of the cross.

For comparison with the above the President exhibited three specimens of the contemporary coinage of Alfred the Great, of nearly similar but varying types.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—“Notes on the private tokens, their issuers and die sinkers, 1795–1843, 1st portion,” which appears in this volume.

The same having been read to the Meeting and illustrated by specimens exhibited by the writers, a short discussion followed, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Talbot Ready and Mr. S. H. Hamer for their papers.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the Ordinary Meeting on the 11th May, declared the business of the Meeting concluded.

EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

April 14th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Notice convening the Meeting having, by assent, been taken as read,

The PRESIDENT read the draft of the proposed alterations to the rules as set out in the Minutes of the 23rd ulto. It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. UPTON and carried unanimously, that the Director and Treasurer be appointed Scrutators. The votes having been opened the Scrutators reported to the President, who announced that the large number of members who had voted were unanimous as to Resolution 2, and that there was only one dissident against Resolution 1.

The PRESIDENT declared both to be carried, and directed the Scrutators to destroy the voting papers, which having been done the business of the meeting was concluded.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 11th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 13th April, and of the EXTRAORDINARY MEETING, held on the 14th April, 1904, were read, confirmed and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of eighteen Candidates for ordinary membership, and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Herbert Jordan Adams, Esq.
 Robert Barnard, Esq.
 James Leonard Crouch, Esq.
 Mons. Charles Camille de Brix.
 Miss Caroline Mary Gibbings.
 Charles P. Henty, Esq., M.A.
 Joseph Malcolm Kerr, Esq.
 Hagop Kevorkian, Esq.
 David Lyell, Esq.
 Arthur Marshall, Esq.

William Pierson, Esq.
 Edward Davenport Ridley, Esq.
 John Smith, Esq.
 Henry Singleton Threlfall, Esq.
 The Toronto Public Library,
 Canada.
 Alfred Ernest Weightman, Esq.
 Mrs. Mary Willett.
 Norman F. Woodcock, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the ten Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 13th April, took place, and the PRESIDENT announced that all had been elected Members of the Society.

Admissions.

The following seventeen Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, section X, of the Rules of the Society, viz. :—

The Aberdeen Public Library.
 The Corporation of Burnley.
 John Chivers, Esq.
 J. C. Eckersley, Esq., M.A.
 R. A. Elliot, Esq.
 The Göttingen Royal University
 Library.
 E. A. Greenslade, Esq.
 V. T. Hodgson, Esq.
 John Hutchins, Esq.

H. S. Moore, Esq.
 The Committee of the Oldham
 Free Library.
 W. T. Paulin, Esq.
 Mde. Raymond-Serrure.
 The John Rylands Library.
 G. Unwin, Esq.
 A. Vernon, Esq.
 Isaac Walton, Esq.

Address and Papers.

MR. STROUD.—(Recorder of Tewkesbury.) “Brief musings on the Exurgat money.” Mr. Stroud made some extempore remarks

as to this legend and its origin and application, and exhibited two coins, viz. :—a £3 piece of Charles I., dated 1642, minted at Oxford, and a crown of the Commonwealth, dated 1649, in connexion therewith, and promised to write a paper thereon for the Society's *Journal*, which appears in these pages. The thanks of the Meeting were accorded to the speaker.

DR. PHILIP NELSON.—“The Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin and Pewter.” Dr. Nelson exhibited several trays of rare and interesting coins from Mr. Hoblyn's, Mr. Lionel Fletcher's, and his own collections in illustration of his paper, which will constitute a complete monograph on the subject. The paper having been read in outline to the Meeting and the specimens submitted to the Members present for inspection, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Philip Nelson for his most interesting and exhaustive paper, and also to Mr. Hoblyn and Mr. L. Fletcher for their assistance to Dr. Nelson. This monograph commences on page 169 of this volume.

Exhibitions.

The President.—Cunobeline. Small *Æ*. Obverse, *CVN* on a tablet (*cf.* Evans, Plate X, No. 4). Reverse, animal to left; above, dotted circle enclosing a pellet, below *CAM* unpublished. See plate, Ancient British Coins, fig. 27.

The PRESIDENT drew attention to the fact that the silver coins of Eadberht, of Northumbria, bear animals very similar to that represented on this coin. Also the same ornament (dotted circle enclosing a pellet).

Cunobeline. *Æ*, obverse *CVNOBE-LINI* in two compartments of a tablet; above and below, a ring ornament; the whole within a beaded circle. Reverse, Victory seated to left, her right hand extended and holding a wreath; in exergue traces of *AM* in *CAMV*. See as to these letters Evans, pp. 321–2, Plate XI, No. 8. From the Hon. Coutts Marjoribanks' sale, Sotheby's, 29th April, 1904. Lot 224.

The PRESIDENT also exhibited a wax impression of the Seal of the Society which had been engraved by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd., and the same met with the approval of all present.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—Two interesting specimens of British ring money, one found at Abingdon, the other at Wallingford; both are formed of small circular sections of gold and then bent round to the ordinary penannular form, also an unpublished Salute of Henry VI. struck at Châlons-sur-Marne, of the ordinary type, but with m.m. crescent.

The Director.—Medal of the Neasden Golf Club. Designed by Mr. F. M. Taubman.

Mr. J. Burham Safford.—Four Irish tokens, three copper, one silver.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the Ordinary Meeting on the 8th June, and calling special attention to the interesting nature of the paper by Mr. Andrew to be read thereat, declared the business of the Meeting terminated.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 8th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING held on the 11th May, 1904, were read, confirmed and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of eleven Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Mons. Adolphe E. Cahn.	Thomas George Litchfield, Esq.
John Dimsdale, Esq., F.Z.S.	Richard Sewell, Esq.
Frederick David Elkin, Esq.	Captain The Hon. Arthur
Edward Bosworth Harris, Esq.	Charles Edward Somerset.
Henry Johnson, Esq., F.G.S.	The Public Library of Victoria.
Edward Egerton Leigh, Esq.	Joseph Wheelwright, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Ordinary Meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the eighteen Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 11th May, took place, and the PRESIDENT announced that all had been elected Members of the Society.

Admissions.

The following seven Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules of the Society, viz. :—

E. H. Abbott, Esq.	F. E. Eiloart, Esq.
H. Courthope-Munroe, Esq.,	Edward Jones, Esq.
M.A.	The Leigh Public Library.
The Trustees of the National	R. L. Reid, Esq.
Library of Dublin.	

Exhibitions.

Mr. Sharp Ogden.—Penny of Edward the Confessor, Hawkins, 225, BRIHTMER ON PA Wallingford, penny (fragment) of William the Conqueror, Hawkins, 234. . . . TMER ON PA, Wallingford. The like BRAND ON PÆLINGI, Wallingford. The like Hawkins, 236,

SIPEARÐ ON PINCE, Winchester. The like **CEORL ON BRIESTOP**, Bristol.

All the above formed part of a hoard discovered many years ago on Whitchurch Common, near Wallingford.

Mr. Wells.—Two varieties of an unpublished type of ancient British coins—bronze plated with silver—found at Colchester. See the plate of ancient British coins, p. 354, fig. 10. A Bristol penny of William I., Hawkins, 238, **LERL • ON • BRIEST** having a pellet in the fourth quarter on reverse. A denarius of Carausius, found in the Thames. Two varieties of an unpublished type of uninscribed ancient British coins found at Wimblington. See plate of Ancient British Coins, figs. 11, 12. A contemporary forgery in bronze of a gold stater of Cunobeline. A penny bearing on one side the name of Offa, King of Mercia, and on the other that of Aethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury; and a penny of Edward, the Elder, moneyer **PINEGEAR**, found in the Churchyard, Brixworth, Northants. A curious die found in the Thames for the obverse of the first coinage of Henry II., but apparently of slightly larger design than the usual type, which is illustrated and described in this volume.

The President.—Halfdan. Halfpenny, obverse, + **ΛΓΓ DE NE RX** small cross within circle, reverse, **TIIVVINE** in two lines. Only one other specimen is known, viz., that in the British Museum. Alwald penny, obverse, + **ALVALD • DVS** cross within circle, a pellet in two angles; reverse, **DÑS DÑ REX** in two lines. Only one, or possibly two, other examples of the coins of this prince are known, one being in the British Museum.

The above two coins are illustrated on Plate II, figs. 48 and 49, to Mr. Andrew's paper, *Buried Treasure*, in this volume, and are described on page 56.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—A crown of Charles I. of the Exeter

mint, dated 1644, bearing a curious countermark, W.R. in monogram, and a crown. A very rare Aberystwith penny of the same king, with m. m. crown, mentioned by Hawkins as known by Snelling's notes only. An unusually fine hammered half crown of Charles II., with m. m. crown, value and inner borders. A fine specimen of the New England shilling.

Mr. H. Fentiman.—A strip of metal containing nine impressions of the Richmond farthing *temp.* Charles I., which, from the appearance of the edges of the metal, would seem to be its extreme length.

Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—A mule silver sixpence of Charles I., obverse being from the sixpence die type 2^a m. m. rose; reverse, from that of the half unite m. m. rose. The legend reads, CVLTORES SVI DEVS PROTEGIT. From the Murdoch and Montagu Collections. Fig. 17 of the Plate of Exhibits.

Mr. Maish.—A York farthing of Edward I., and varieties of the pennies of Aethelstan, struck at Oxford, and of Edward III., at Durham.

Mr. W. J. Webster.—A fine specimen of the Scottish forty shilling piece of James II.

Mr. Hoblyn.—Thirteen types of the Dublin halfpenny of Mic. Wilson.

Mr. F. Toplis.—Four pennies of Edward II., found at Tutbury, two coined at London, and two at Canterbury.

Mr. Montagu Sharpe.—Some interesting Roman and later coins, recently found in the Thames at Brentford.

The PRESIDENT produced a seal or stamp sent from the Sister in Charge of the Home of the Good Shepherd, Hoar Cross, Burton-on-Trent, recently found in an antique wardrobe and thought to be a seal of William III. Mr. Talbot Ready was of opinion that it was a stamp used for making impressions in Staffordshire pottery.

The PRESIDENT also produced the wax impression of the Society's Seal and the electrotpe, and the Secretary two medals,

one silver and the other bronze, of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, dated 1745, from which the design had been adapted.

Papers.

MR. BERNARD ROTH.—“Notes on three British gold coins recently found near Abingdon,” which appears in these pages.

The paper having been read and the specimens exhibited, viz. :—Stater of Addedomaros (Evans, Plate XIV, No. 6), Stater of Cunobelinus (Evans, Plate IX, No. 8), and Stater inscribed TASCIO-RICON (Evans, Plate VIII, No. 6), to the Members, the thanks of the Meeting were accorded to Mr. Roth.

The SECRETARY.—“Buried Treasure ; some traditions, records and facts, relating to the loss of the Cuerdale, Beaworth, Nottingham, Tutbury, Colchester, and other hoards,” printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT and MR. TOPLIS produced the coins previously mentioned in illustration of this paper, and the same having been read and the specimens submitted to the Members present for inspection, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT, after giving notice of the Ordinary Meeting on the 13th July, declared the business of the Meeting terminated.

ORDINARY MEETING.

July 13th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 8th June, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of twenty-seven Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

2 F. 2

William Heap Bailey, Esq.
 Cecil Bigwood, Esq., M.A.
 Herbert T. Bloor, Esq.
 Col. Gerald Edmund Boyle.
 John Broün Broün-Morison, Esq.,
 F.S.A. Scot., D.L.
 Monsr. L. E. Brunn.
 John William Clarke, Esq.
 H. F. Cornish, Esq.
 Albert Charles Crane, Esq.
 Robert Owen Davies, Esq.
 George Henry Blois Elliott, Esq.
 Frank Elmer Ellis, Esq.
 George Herbert Godsell, Esq.

Frederick Hoare, Esq.
 James H. Husey-Hunt, Esq.
 John Ibetson Huttly, Esq.
 The Royal Irish Academy.
 Herbert Nield, Esq.
 Frederic Orton, Esq., M.D.
 Mrs. L. C. Pharazyn.
 Shirley Herbert Potter, Esq.
 Wm. Regester, Esq.
 Andrew Roddick, Esq.
 Walter H. George Spindler, Esq.
 Everard G. Thorne, Esq., LL.M.
 Henry Lee Waddington, Esq.
 Frederick Whinney, Esq., B.A.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. F. STROUD, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the eleven Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 8th June, took place, and the President declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

Admissions.

The following eleven Members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules of the Society, viz. :—

Monsr. C. C. de Brix.
 The Guildhall Library.
 A. R. Holland, Esq.
 D. F. Howorth, Esq.
 A. Marshall, Esq.
 W. Pierson, Esq.

J. C. Robinson, Esq.
 H. S. Threlfall, Esq.
 The Toronto Public Library,
 Canada.
 A. E. Weightman, Esq.
 Mrs. M. Willett.

List of Donations to Library, etc.

- R. W. McLachlan.—*The Copper Currency of the Canadian Banks, 1837–1857* (R. W. McLachlan, Author).
- Messrs. Spink and Son.—*Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, Vol. 2, E–H. By L. Forrer.
- Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—*Ruding's Annals of the Coinage* (1819 edition), Vols. I to V, and book of plates; Montagu's *Copper Coins of England*, *The Numismatic Chronicle* (new series), Vols. XIX and XX, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, by McCulloch, and Dr. Smith's *Smaller Dictionary of Antiquities*.
- John Walter Scott.—(Chairman of the Collectors' Club, New York, on behalf of the Club.) The Collectors' Medal of the Club.
- J. Sandford Saltus.—Mormon five dollar piece.

Exhibitions.

- Mr. G. Unwin.—Stephen's Dublin silver token of 1813.
- Mr. M. Maish.—A silver penny of type I of Harold I., struck at Bristol, Fig. 5 of the Plate. An Irish penny of a design copied from the canopy type of William I. A halfpenny of Edward I., reading **LONDONIENSIS**.
- Miss Helen Farquhar.—A note upon two small badges of the reign of Charles I., which she submitted to the Meeting. One, in gold, shows the king's bust in armour with long hair and plain falling collar, reverse, C and R interlinked between two ornaments and crowned. The other, in silver gilt, is that illustrated in Pinkerton's "Medallic History," XIX, No. 6, which of late years has been lost, and its existence questioned. It bears the same obverse as the preceding example, but on the reverse the crown and ornaments are absent.
- The President.—A vase containing Roman brass coins found

in a brickfield at Peterborough, and he read the report of the discovery communicated by Mr. J. C. Hill, the owner of the land where the same was made, which is printed in this volume.

The Director.—A gold noble struck from an obverse die of the last coinage of Edward III., and a reverse die of Richard II.

Mr. H. Lambert.—A copper farthing of William and Mary, 1692, showing long hair as on the tin coins. A shilling of Dorien and Magen, 1798.

Mr. Talbot Ready.—A silver proof of the bronze penny of Victoria, 1861. A badge of the centenary of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1849.

Mr. F. Toplis.—For comparison a Spanish dollar of Charles III., with one countermarked for currency in England.

Mr. O. C. Goldthwait.—A trial piece in bronze for the half-crown of 1816, struck on a disc the size of a crown with the edge inscribed in incised letters ANNO REGNI QUINQUAGESIMO SEPTIMO. DECUS ET TUTAMEN.

Paper.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott.—“The Spanish dollar as adapted for currency in our West Indian Colonies.”

The PRESIDENT stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Caldecott regretting that he could not be present at the Meeting that evening, and asked Mr. Bernard Roth to read the paper. Mr. Roth having complied and several trays of coins in illustration of the paper having been submitted to the members present for inspection, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the writer, and Mr. L. Fletcher was thanked by the Meeting for his trouble in arranging and exhibiting the coins.

The PRESIDENT gave notice to the members that the ballot for the election of Officers and Council for the year 1905, would take

place on the 30th November, between 8.45 and 9.15 p.m., and after giving notice of the next Ordinary Meeting on the 12th October, declared the business of the Meeting terminated.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 12th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 13th July, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read the following letters from H.M. The King of Italy, accepting his invitation to become a Royal Member, and from the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, agreeing to become an Honorary Member of the Society, which were received with applause, and copies of the letters were ordered to be entered on the Minutes.

(Translation.)

Racconigi,
September 23rd, 1904.

Ministry of the Royal Household,
First Division,
No. 999 f.

The King my Sovereign has entrusted to me the expression of his particular pleasure at the kind congratulations you express in the name of the Society in the joyful circumstance of the birth of the heir to the throne of Italy.

His Majesty is much gratified by the attention of the British Numismatic Society in offering to make him a royal member, and

willingly accepts the proffered courtesy suggested by respect for His Majesty.

In informing you of my Sovereign's consent, I have the honour to add that His Majesty is pleased to form one of a Society which cultivates a study in which he takes so great an interest, and I also take the opportunity to assure you, Mr. President, of my distinguished consideration.

The Minister of the Royal Household of Italy.

(Signed) C. PENZO VAGLIA.

To

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ.,
President of the British Numismatic Society,
London, W.C.

American Embassy,
London,

5th October, 1904.

P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ.,
President.

DEAR SIR,

I am greatly obliged by your most kind note offering to propose my name as an Honorary Member of the British Numismatic Society. I need not say that I should consider it a great honor to be connected in that way with so distinguished a Society.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Hon. Joseph H. Choate
(*Honorary Member*).

Richard Babbs, Esq.

Monsr. Stanislas Emile Bally.

John de Gray Birch, Esq.

The Birkenhead Free Public
Libraries.

Monsr. Elie Boudeau.

The Bradford Public Library.

The Brighton Public Library.

William Hervey Brown, Esq.

James Francis Bull, Esq.

Charles Burney, Esq., B.A.

Miss Ellen Gertrude Carlyon.

Henry Charles Clifford, Esq.

The Corporation of Colchester.

Frederick Costin, Esq.

Richard Crittall, Esq.

William Henry Fox, Esq.

John Gibson, Esq., M.A.

Emor Charles Gradinger, Esq.

John Peter Grain, Esq.

The Halifax Public Library.

Augustus Hamilton, Esq.

William Harris, Esq.

Thomas F. J. Lovelace Hercy.
Esq., D.L.

Leonard George Mellor, Esq.

The Munich Royal Library.

Keith W. Murray, Esq., F.S.A.

The Hon. Richard Henry Brinsley
Norton.

The Reading Free Library,
Museum and Art Gallery.

Frank Edgecumbe Thomas, Esq.

Sir Charles George Walpole.
M.A., F.R.G.S.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. TALBOT READY, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Meeting.

Ballot.

The ballot for the twenty-seven Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 13th July, 1904, and also for the Hon. Richard Henry Brinsley Norton (under Chapter II, Rule V), took place, and the President declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

The PRESIDENT informed the meeting that the Council had determined to hold two additional Ordinary Meetings on the 16th November, at 8.30, and the 30th November at 8, the latter chiefly for the purpose of electing Members, and this action was unanimously approved and confirmed.

The PRESIDENT read the list of Officers and Council for the next Session as recommended by the Council, and the ballot for whom would take place on the 30th November, 1904, at 8.45 p.m.

Auditors.

The PRESIDENT reminded the Meeting that under Chapter XIX of the Rules, Auditors had then to be appointed, and suggested that Mr. Goldsmith should be one of them, and that either Mr. Hoblyn or Mr. A. Chifferiel should be the other Auditor. This suggestion met with the approval of the Meeting and Mr. Goldsmith and Mr. Hoblyn (whom failing, Mr. Chifferiel) were so appointed.

Admissions.

The following twenty-one members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Society, viz. :—

H. Bailey, Esq.	J. Coolidge Hills, Esq.
Robert Barnard, Esq.	W. G. Jerrems, Jun., Esq.
Monsr. A. E. Cahn.	J. M. Kerr, Esq.
The Cambridge University Library.	E. Egerton Leigh, Esq.
E. B. Chancellor, Esq., M.A.	T. G. Litchfield, Esq.
J. L. Crouch, Esq. (<i>in person</i>).	W. Lurcott, Esq.
J. Dimsdale, Esq., F.Z.S.	D. Lyell, Esq.
F. D. Elkin, Esq.	J. T. Taverner Reed, Esq.
R. P. Hamp, Esq.	J. A. Richards, Esq., B.A.
E. B. Harris, Esq. (<i>in person</i>).	R. Sewell, Esq.
	George Stoner, Esq.

Presentations.

Messrs. Spink and Son.—*L. Forrer* (Author).

Les Monnaies de Cléopâtre VII. Philopator, Reine
d'Égypte (52–30 av. J.-C.).

Médailles gravées par des Artistes d'origine Suisse.

Die Darstellung der Aphrodite des Praxiteles auf den
Münzen von Knidos.

Ein Porträt der Laïs auf Korinthischen Münzen.

Quelques Variétés inédites de Grands Bronzes Romains.

Monnaies Romaines inédites.

Les Portraits de Sappho sur les Monnaies.

A series of private patterns for coins and medallion portraits, edited by R. Huth.

Mr. S. H. Hamer.—Two volumes from the Grendon Hall Library, Coin catalogues, viz. :—

Museum Meadianum, 1755.

Catalogus Numismaticus Musei Lefroyani, 1763.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Bernard Roth.—A series of eight complete circular clippings of shillings of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., from a find in Southwark which occurred some years ago. Mr. Roth read a note on these and demonstrated practically their method of production by means of a tool which is known as a “tinman’s bent snips” and used for cutting sheet tin or iron. As to this find see Mr. Roth’s paper, *Finds of Clippings of Silver Coins* in this volume.

The President.—A PÆX type penny of Edward the Confessor struck at Cricklade, and reading on the reverse + ÆLPINE ON CRO Fig. 6 of the plate, and a rare Hiberno-Danish penny resembling that illustrated in Lindsay, Supplement, Plate 3, No. 60.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A penny of the second issue of Henry II., reading ✠ IOAN . ON . SANTE (St. Edmundsbury), Fig. 8 of the Plate, and a piedfort of the penny of Edward III. of the London Mint weighing although perforated 35 grains. Fig. 9 of the plate.

Mr. John E. T. Loveday.—A Ryal of Henry Darnley and Mary, Queen of Scots, dated 1565, countermarked

with a thistle similar to the specimen in the British Museum, which had hitherto been supposed to be unique.

Mr. Lionel Fletcher.—Two tin gaming tickets inscribed “Cocoa Tree” and “Brooks’s” respectively on one side, and “One Guinea” on the other side, used in the early part of the nineteenth century; also a specimen of the handsome medal in silver struck by the City of London Corporation to commemorate the raising and equipment of the City Imperial Volunteers.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—An early British silver coin, having on the obverse the head of Janus, and on the reverse a horse to the right and the letters *MDV*, Fig. 13 of the plate of Ancient British Coins; a sceatta of base silver found near Lakenheath, Suffolk, being a variety of that figured in B.M. Cat., Vol. I, Plate I, No. 6, Fig. 1 of the Plate of Exhibits; a Stamford penny of Æthelred II., reading + *LEOFFINE MNO STAN* of Hawkins, 205, with the letter *τ* in the field, Fig. 3 of the Plate of Exhibits; a penny of William I. (Hks. 234), reading + *CODEPINE ON ANT* (for either Southampton or Northampton); a fine silver medallion of Valens, found at Duston, near Northampton.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—A halfpenny of Victoria, dated 1861, on a thick nickel flan, weight 105 grains, unpublished in this metal.

Mr. S. H. Hamer and Mr. Baldwin.—A series of tokens showing that certain specimens regarded by Atkins as from separate dies are in reality from the same dies in different stages of wear.

The following are the particulars of those exhibited by Mr. Hamer:—

Devonshire Token. Atkins $\frac{29}{2}$ Obverse:—SUCCESS TO THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTORY. Bishop Blaze holding a wool comb. Reverse, EXETER HALFPENNY, 1792. Arms of Exeter.

Shropshire Token. Same obverse design, but different die, whereon is a flaw. Atkins No. 21. Reverse:—SHREWSBURY HALFPENNY, 1793. Arms of Shrewsbury.

Warwickshire Token. Atkins, 84. Obverse:—WILLIAM HALLAN, BIRMINGHAM, 1795. Reverse:—DEALER IN GLASS AND STAFFORDSHIRE WARE.

Ditto. Atkins, 84 bis, but really 84. Reverse same.

Mr. H. M. Reynolds.—Penny of William II., of Dover, from which Hawkins, 249, was engraved, reading
✱ **LIFPINE ON DFR**, from the Cuff collection.

Paper.

MAJOR A. B. CREEKE.—“The Regal Sceatta and Styca series of Northumbria.”

The PRESIDENT stated that Major Creeke was unable to be present at the Meeting that evening, and had asked that the paper be read for him. The same was accordingly read in part by the Director, and as to the remainder by the President, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the writer. It is printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that Mr. Rickword's paper would be held over to be read at the extra meeting on the 16th November. He also made a full statement as to the present Roll of Members and Candidates, which was regarded as highly satisfactory.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 16th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 12th October, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

The PRESIDENT read the following letter from H.M. The King of Portugal, accepting his invitation to become a Royal Member, which was received with applause, and a copy of the letter was ordered to be entered on the Minutes :—

Cascaes Royal Palace,
14th October, 1904.

SIR,

Having had the honor to inform His Majesty the King, of the contents of your letter, His Majesty most graciously consents to become a member of the British Numismatic Society.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) COUNT D'ARNOVO.

The PRESIDENT informed the Meeting that the Council proposed The Right Hon. the Countess of Yarborough, Baroness Fauconberg and Conyers, as an Honorary Member.

Certificates of Candidates for Election.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of eleven Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

Walter Banks, Esq.
 Valentine Dudley Henry Cary-
 Elwes, Esq., F.S.A., D.L.
 Miss Caroline Mary Howard.
 Edward Jackman, Esq.
 Allen Parry Jones, Esq.

Ernest Harry Lee, Esq.
 Edward Ernest Needes, Esq.
 The Norwich Free Library.
 Savile Grainger Streeter, Esq.
 Frederick Willson Yeates, Esq.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. TALBOT READY, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Meeting.

The name of Mr. Henry Ernest Grace was also included in this list, but owing to his decease meanwhile, it was with the deep regret of the members withdrawn from election.

Ballot.

The ballot for the twenty-nine Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 12th October, 1904, took place, and the President declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

Admissions.

The following twenty-six members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules, viz. :—

H. J. Adams, Esq.
 The Advocates Library, Edinburgh.
 Monsr. S. E. Bally.
 H. T. Bloor, Esq.
 Col. G. E. Boyle.
 Monsr. L. E. Brunn.
 J. F. Bull, Esq. (*in person*).
 The Corporation of Colchester.
 R. O. Davies, Esq.
 W. H. Fox, Esq.
 Miss C. M. Gibbings.

R. C. Harpur, Esq.
 C. P. Henty, Esq., M.A.
 J. I. Huttly, Esq.
 The Royal Irish Academy,
 Dublin.
 Henry Johnson, Esq., F.G.S.
 The Hon. R. H. B. Norton.
 Mrs. L. C. Pharazyn.
 S. H. Potter, Esq. (*in person*).
 Captain the Hon. Arthur C. E.
 Somerset.
 E. G. Thorne, Esq., LL.M.

The Victoria Public Library,
Melbourne.
J. Wheelwright, Esq.

Mrs. M. Wood.
N. F. Woodcock, Esq.
F. Zerbe, Esq.

Presentations.

Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—Messrs. Spink and Son's Catalogue of the Montagu collection of coins from George I. to Victoria. The like of the English Series 3rd, 4th, and 5th portions. Sale Catalogue of coins of Henry Clark (1898), ditto A. Durlacher (1899), ditto J. E. Moon (1901).

L. Forrer.—Le Musée (September and October, 1904).

Mrs. Spicer (per Mr. W. J. Andrew).—The coinage of William I. and William II., by the late Mr. F. Spicer.

The Director.—Fourteen coin trays. A volume entitled "English Coins," containing papers by the donor reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893 to 1900.

Exhibitions.

The President.—Several hundred pieces of the coinage of Henry II. to III., in illustration of Mr. Rickword's paper; also two rare silver pennies of Canute, one of Hild. type A, of London, + ENVT REX ANGLORV diademed bust to left; inner circle. Reverse.—+ ÐORCETL M-O LVN; and the other of Hild. type B, of Shrewsbury, + ENVT REX · ANGLO + ÆLFHEM MΩO SERO.

Lieut.-Col. Morrieson.—An interesting coin of William I.,
✱ **BRIHTPI ON MALI**—, of the Malmesbury mint, being a penny, originally of Hawkins type, 233, but recoined as type 234; also pennies of type 238,
✱ **BRVRN ON PERII**, of the Wareham mint, and of 250 of William II., ✱ **VIIDI ON BRICII**, issued at Bristol.

The Director.—Forgeries of a penny of King John, a shilling of Charles I., and a half-crown of the Commonwealth.



SILVER BADGE OF THE NEEDLE-MAKERS, 1777.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A silver badge of the Needle-Makers' Guild, London, * THOMAS DOBSON ; LIVERY. 11th March, 1777.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn.—The pewter Irish crown piece of James II. with a plain edge, which is believed to be the only specimen. From the Montagu Collection.

Mr. H. Osborn O'Hagan.—A coin of John I., Duke of Brabant.

Mr. G. Ellis.—A silver medal bearing the head of Julius Cæsar, but of early nineteenth century work.

Mr. L. Fletcher.—Specimens of the tokens issued by Macgregor Laird in the nineteenth century for circulation on the Niger, but which, as Mr. D. F. Howorth explained, were suppressed as an infringement of the royal prerogative.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin.—A penny and two halfpennies purporting to be of the dates 1850 and 1860, but converted from coins of 1853 and 1859.

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Paper.

Mr. George Rickword, Librarian of the Public Library, Colchester.—“The Colchester Hoard of 1902.”

The PRESIDENT stated that Mr. Rickword was unable to be present at the Meeting, and had asked that the paper be read for him. The same was accordingly read by the President and discussed, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the writer for his most interesting paper. The President exhibited two trays of coins containing some hundreds of short-cross pennies, some being from the Colchester hoard: also a coin of John I., Duke of Brabant, the property of Mr. H. Osborn O'Hagan, and purchased at Colchester shortly after the hoard was found, but on inspection by members present it was considered that the coin had not the appearance of the coins undoubtedly forming part of the hoard, this specimen being dark in tone. In discussing the theory of the writer that the hoard had been collected by Hubert de Burgh, and had thus been mainly issued at the various mint towns under his control or associated with him, the Director drew attention to the fact that the Eccles and some other hoards of short-cross pennies exhibited very similar proportions of coins from the London and Canterbury mints as well as from the smaller mints. He also remarked the circumstance that there was apparently no record of short-cross pennies having been found in company with the later long-cross issues.

Mr. Rickword's paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.R.S., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the ORDINARY MEETING, held on the 16th November, 1904, were read, confirmed, and signed by the President.

Ballot for Honorary Members.

The ballot for the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, American Ambassador, as Honorary Member, took place, and the President declared that he had been elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

New Members.

The PRESIDENT read the Certificates of three Candidates for ordinary membership and the names of the signatories thereto, viz. :—

The Governors of the Royal Albert Memorial, Exeter.

Bernard Guy Harrison, Esq.

The Municipal Libraries of Leicester.

It was moved by the PRESIDENT, seconded by MR. BERNARD ROTH, and carried unanimously, that these Certificates be suspended, and it was ordered that the Candidates be balloted for at the next Meeting.

The PRESIDENT also informed the Meeting that the Council proposed His Excellency The Marquis de Soveral, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the King of Portugal and His Excellency Count de Lalaing, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to H.M. The King of the Belgians, as Honorary Members.

Ballot.

The ballot for the ten Candidates proposed at the Ordinary Meeting on the 16th November, 1904, took place, and the President declared that all had been elected Members of the Society.

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Presentations.

Mr. W. J. Andrew.—Mahogany coin cabinet with folding doors.

Mr. W. H. Fox.—A small but interesting collection of coins.

Mr. W. J. Davis.—The nineteenth century token coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, by the Donor.

Mr. R. W. McLachlan.—Annals of the Nova Scotian currency, by the Donor.

Admissions.

The following ten members were admitted in pursuance of Chapter II, Section X, of the Rules. viz. :—

Walter Banks, Esq.

F. Hoare, Esq.

C. Burney, Esq., B.A.

Miss C. M. Howard.

Miss E. G. Carlyon.

L. G. Mellor, Esq.

H. C. Clifford, Esq.

E. E. Needes, Esq.

T. F. J. Lovelace Hercy, Esq.,
D.L.

Sir Charles G. Walpole, M.A.,
F.R.G.S.

The PRESIDENT moved that the hour for holding the Ordinary Meetings during the next Session be 8 o'clock, and this was unanimously agreed.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

November 30th, 1904.

P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, ESQ., F.S.A., D.L.,
President, in the Chair.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council for the first year since the inauguration of the Society, viz. :—

To the Members of the British Numismatic Society.

The Council have the honour to lay before you their first Report.

The Society was founded on the 18th June, 1903, by your present President, Director and Secretary, and very soon received distinguished support and a record measure of success.

The Inaugural Meeting took place on the 30th November, 1903, when the number of members comprised : Honorary, 1, Ordinary, 270, Total, 271.

With deep regret the Council record the decease of the four following ordinary Members :—

Thomas Cooper, Esq.

W. Glendenning, Esq.

Henry Griffith, Esq., F.S.A.

The Rev. John Samuel.

and of the two following candidates for election :—

Henry Arthur Allbutt, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., M.R.C.P.

Henry Ernest Grace, Esq., F.C.A.

The Council regret to announce the resignation of the following seven Ordinary Members :—

F. P. Bishop, Esq.

Miss M. L. Cox.

Rufus D. Isaacs, Esq., K.C., M.P.

W. Blake Odgers, Esq., K.C., LL.B.

Sir J. T. Ritchie, Bart.

George Wheeler, Esq.

A. C. Zabriskie, Esq.

On the other hand the Council have great pleasure in recording the honour conferred upon the Society by the election since the Inaugural Meeting of the following two Royal Members :—

His Majesty the King of Italy.

His Majesty the King of Portugal.

The election of the two following Honorary Members (in order of appointment) will be gratifying to the Members :—

Field Marshal the Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G.

His Excellency the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, American Ambassador.

The Council are also pleased to be able to announce that

The Countess of Yarborough, Baroness Fauconberg and Conyers,

His Excellency the Marquis de Soveral, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Portuguese Minister,

His Excellency Count de Lalaing, Belgian Minister,

have accepted the invitation of the Council to be proposed for election.

The number of Ordinary Members elected since the Inaugural Meeting is 245, and their names will be found in the Register of Members printed in the first volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

To summarize the above figures the position of the Society as regards Members is as follows :—

		<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1903	...	—	1	270	271
Since elected	... ..	2	2	245	249
		2	3	515	520
Deceased	... ..	—	—	4	4
Resigned	... ..	—	—	7	7
30th November, 1904	...	2	3	504	509

By the Rules of the Society the number of Ordinary Members is limited to 500, but under Chapter II, Sections II and V, Peers, eldest sons of Peers, Privy Councillors and some others, are additional, and this provision accounts for the number of Ordinary Members being in excess of 500.

The figures stated above are exclusive of Candidates awaiting election.

It will therefore be seen that the success which the Society had attained a year ago has been abundantly increased, and the Council feel confident that in your hands the same will be fully maintained.

¹When all have worked so well it would almost be invidious to specify anyone as being deserving of special commendation, but the Council wish to place on record their appreciation of the efforts of their President, who as one of the three founders of the Society, and since his unanimous election as its chief representative, has by his energetic zeal in the cause of historical numismatics, rendered inestimable service. In this he has been most ably supported by the Officers in ensuring the success of the Society and its work.

The Council also desire to thank the contributors to the pages of the *British Numismatic Journal*, the exhibitors of coins and other objects at the Meetings of the Society, and to mark their appreciation of the kindness of those who have given to the Society's Library and Cabinet ; also to thank their colleague, Mr. W. Talbot Ready, for his assistance in making casts of coins and preparing them for the Plates of illustrations in the *Journal*, and finally on behalf of the members to tender their acknowledgment to Messrs. Upton and Britton for having generously placed the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at the services of the Society.

The first volume of the Society's Journal, called the *British Numismatic Journal*, will be published as soon after the Anniversary Meeting as is possible. It will be a bound and illustrated volume, and will be issued to Members in return for their subscriptions for the year 1904.

The Council congratulate the Treasurer upon his financial report, which is a further indication of the assured stability of the Society.

The Council regret to say that the Petition to His Majesty

¹ This clause, and the concluding paragraph of the next, were struck out of the Report by the express wish of the President at the Council Meeting, but were reinstated by resolution of the Members as will appear.

King Edward VII., presented at the outset of the Society's career, asking for the privilege of a Royal Charter of Incorporation, was not acceded to on the ground, it is understood, that His Majesty was advised that it was not in accordance with precedent to grant a Charter to a newly-established body. Perhaps little wonder will be entertained in regard to His Majesty's decision, but the Council venture to hope, with every respect, that the desire of the Society to have the advantage and privilege of the Royal favour of our most beloved Sovereign's patronage in its earliest days will not be regarded as a fact detrimental to its attainment at a later stage.

In conclusion the Council have the honour to state that His Majesty the King of Portugal has very graciously consented to receive a deputation from the Society at the Portuguese Legation to-morrow, the 1st December, at 4 p.m., when an illuminated address in the following terms will be presented to His Majesty.

British Numismatic Society.

43, Bedford Square,
London.

30th November, 1904.

To His Most Faithful Majesty,
Carlos, King of Portugal.

The humble address of the President, Council and Members of the British Numismatic Society.

, May it please your Majesty,

On behalf of the British Numismatic Society we have the privilege to thank your Majesty for having most graciously consented to become a Royal Member of this Society, and for thus having constituted another link in the chain of amity that has so long bound your Majesty's realm to that of our own most gracious Sovereign.

Numismatic science is one peculiarly within the prerogative of kings and other potentates, and coins and medals serve to preserve their portraits and form a record of historical events.

The Society is honoured to have the opportunity of joining in

the universal welcome that is accorded to your Majesty on your visit to England, and is proud in the thought that its welcome is to one of its Royal Members.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

P. CARLYON-BRITTON, *President.*

G. R. ASKWITH, *Vice-President.*

F. D. DIXON-HARTLAND, M.P., *Vice-President.*

L. A. LAWRENCE, *Director.*

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

W. J. ANDREW, *Secretary.*



BEDFORD.

The same was received with applause by the Members present. It was moved by LIEUT.-COL. MORRIESON, seconded by MR. HOBLYN, and carried unanimously, that the Report be adopted.

In reply to an enquiry by Major Freer as to why the Report (as originally read) contained no reference either to the part taken by the President in the formation of the Society, or to the use of the rooms they were then in, which he understood were freely given by Mr. Upton and the President, the SECRETARY explained that two clauses in the draft Report prepared by him, acknowledging the personal services of the President, which had so much conduced to the success of the Society, and the generosity of Messrs. Upton and Britton in placing at the disposal of the Society the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, had been struck out by the President, when he read the Report at the Council Meeting that evening.

It was proposed by MAJOR FREER, seconded by the SECRETARY and carried unanimously, that the two clauses above referred to be reinstated in the Report of the Council.

Ballot for Election of Officers and Council for the Session 1905.

The PRESIDENT declared the ballot open from 8.45 p.m. to 9.15 p.m., and moved that Mr. Webster and Mr. Harris be appointed Scrutators, which was seconded by the SECRETARY, and carried unanimously. The votes having been opened the Scrutators reported to the President, who announced that the large number of members

who had voted were unanimous, with one exception, in the election of the Officers as recommended by the Council.

Treasurer's Report.

The TREASURER read the Balance Sheet annexed hereto for the past financial year and distributed copies of the same. MR. HOBLYN (one of the Auditors) read the Certificate at the foot of the Balance Sheet certifying that the accounts had been audited and found correct.

It was moved by MR. J. B. SAFFORD, seconded by MR. CALDECOTT, and agreed to unanimously, that the Treasurer's accounts be adopted.

Paper.

The President.—“Treasure Trove, the Treasury and the Trustees of the British Museum.”

The paper having been read, MR. LAMBERT stated that it was one of the most interesting papers he had ever heard, and that he hoped the same would be printed at length in the Society's Journal. MR. F. STROUD, Recorder of Tewkesbury, stated that as a member of the legal profession, he might add that the President's paper contained the true state of the law relating to Treasure Trove, and he entirely supported the President's views and suggestions therein referred to.

It was moved by MR. LAMBERT, seconded by MR. STROUD, and unanimously agreed, that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the President for his paper, which is printed in this volume.

The PRESIDENT replied and proposed that a vote of thanks be accorded to the Director, Secretary, and Treasurer, to Mr. Goldsmith and Mr. Hoblyn, for auditing the Society's accounts, and to the Council in general, and to the Clerk to the Council, also to Messrs. Webster and Harris for their services as Scrutators of the Ballot. This was unanimously passed.

PRESENTATION OF THE ADDRESS TO H.M. THE KING OF
PORTUGAL.

1st December, 1904.

The members of the deputation were most graciously and cordially received by H.M. the King of Portugal at the Portuguese Legation. His Majesty shook hands with each and warmly thanked the President for his remarks and the Society for the Address. H.M. the Queen, who was also present, shook hands with each member of the deputation and said, "I am very glad to be able to welcome you all and am pleased to meet the Society."

The members forming the deputation were :—

The President. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.,
J.P.

Vice-Presidents. Sir FREDERICK D. DIXON-HARTLAND, Bart.,
M.P., F.S.A. G. R. ASKWITH, M.A.

The Director. L. A. LAWRENCE.

The Honorary Treasurer. RUSSELL H. WOOD.

The Honorary Secretary. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

His Grace the DUKE OF BEDFORD, K.G., also signed the Address.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, 1904.

Dr.								Cr.	
	<i>Expenditure.</i>					<i>Income.</i>			
	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.	
To preliminary expenses attending formation of Society, printing, preliminary circulars, prospectus and rules... ..	108	9	5		By subscriptions received and due... ..	516	12	0	
To printing and stationery, including revised prospectus, list of Members and rules	66	3	11		" " " " from Candidates	4	4	0	
To postages	51	3	2		By amounts received compounding subscriptions	120	0	0	
„ cost of Society's seal	14	4	6		By dividends on Consols and interest on bank deposit	2	4	5	
„ fee to clerk to Council... ..	10	10	0						
„ cost of Meetings and refreshments	6	11	6						
To printing reports of Meetings	3	11	3						
„ cost of ballot boxes	1	14	0						
„ sundry expenses	6	19	11						
	<hr/>					<hr/>			
Total expenditure	269	7	8						
To balance, being excess of income over expenditure... ..	373	12	9						
	<hr/>					<hr/>			
	£643	0	5			£643	0	5	

BALANCE SHEET, 16th November, 1904.

BALANCE SHEET, 10th November, 1904.				CR.			
DR.							
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To subscriptions received in advance	4	5	0	By Consols £118 15s. 1d. stock at cost	105	0	0
„ excess of income over expenditure for the year	373	12	9	By subscriptions due, but not yet received, of which £39 18s. is due by Members just elected	77	15	0
				By cash at bankers...	195	2	9
	<u>£377</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>		<u>£377</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>

R. H. WOOD, *Treasurer.*

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the members that we have examined and compared the above accounts, with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

23rd November, 1904.

H. ST. B. GOLDSMITH.
RICHARD A. HOBLYN.

RULES
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



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THE RULES.

MCMIII.

AMENDED MCMIV.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NAME AND OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

- I. The name of the Society shall be "THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY."
- II. The Society is established for the encouragement and promotion of Numismatic Science, and particularly in connection with the coins, medals and tokens of Great and Greater Britain and of the English-speaking races of the world. Archaeology, History, Heraldry, Art, and Genealogy, in so far as they respectively affect numismatics, are declared to be within the objects of the Society.
- III. The Journal of its Proceedings shall be called "*The British Numismatic Journal*."
- IV. The address of the Society shall be 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C., or such other place as the Council may from time to time determine.
- V. In the construction of these rules words importing the masculine gender only shall be deemed to include the feminine gender also. The term "Member" shall also include any Corporation, Committee, Library, Association, Institution, Club, Company, or any Office or Appointment, but the subscription for such membership shall not be compounded under Section II. of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ELECTION AND ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

- I. Every Candidate for election as a Member of the Society shall be proposed by a certificate in writing at an Ordinary Meeting. The certificate shall be signed by three or more Members, one of whom shall certify from personal knowledge, and two others from general knowledge, or from acquaintance with the works of the Candidate; it shall specify the names, profession, or occupation, chief qualifications, and usual place of abode, of the Candidate for election; it shall be delivered to the

Secretary, and be read at an Ordinary Meeting. Such certificate, marked with the date of the day when so read, shall be fixed up, and remain in the Meeting Room of the Society until the said Candidate shall be put to the ballot at a subsequent Ordinary Meeting.

II. The number of Members shall be limited to Five hundred, exclusive of those who may hereafter be elected under Sections iv. and v. of this Chapter, and Chapter X., and exclusive also, in the first instance, of Members elected on the recommendation of the Council, under the next succeeding section.

III. The Council may, in any year, propose for election not more than two persons, distinguished for knowledge of Numismatic Science, notwithstanding there may be no vacancy in the body of Five hundred Members; but as vacancies occur in that body, they shall be deemed to be filled by the persons elected as Members in pursuance of this Section, in the order of their seniority in date of admission. Such proposal shall be made by certificate in writing, and shall be subject to the provisions of Section I.

IV. Members of the Royal Families of this and other Countries may, on the proposal of the Council, be elected as titular Members, without ballot, and shall be called Royal Members.

V. Any Peer of the Realm, or the eldest son of a Peer, or any of His Majesty's Privy Council, or any of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England, or of the Superior Courts of Scotland or Ireland or the Colonies, may be proposed by a single Member, and put to the ballot for election on one and the same day.

VI. No Candidate shall be put to the ballot for election unless the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, or the Director, and six other Members at least, be present.

VII. Ballots for the election of Members other than those who may be elected under Sections iv. and v. of this Chapter and under Chapter X., shall take place, if there be vacancies, at any Ordinary Meeting during the Session of the Society. No Member whose annual subscription is in arrear for more than three calendar months shall be capable of giving a vote. The ballot shall commence and terminate at the times appointed by the Chairman of the meeting. The Candidates shall be put to the ballot in the order in which their names have been proposed; and the Council shall decide on the number of ballots to take place at each Meeting having regard to the approximate number of existing Members. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society previous to that at which the ballot is to take place, a list of the Candidates to be put to the ballot shall be read from the chair, and a copy of such list shall be suspended in the Meeting Room.

VIII. The Election shall in all cases be determined by a majority of four-fifths of the votes of the Members present and balloting on the occasion.

IX. The Secretary of the Society shall, immediately after every Election, communicate the result to each of such Members as are elected and furnish each with a copy of the Rules.

x. Every person elected a Member, provided he has paid his Admission Fee (if any) and subscription, shall be admitted at some Meeting of the Society, in manner following: the President, or his Deputy, or the Director, or Treasurer, or Member of Council, or Senior Member, presiding in the chair at such meeting, shall take him by the hand if present, or if he shall be unable to attend, shall state the fact, and say these words:

“By the authority, and in the name, of the British Numismatic Society, I admit you (or such absent person) a Member thereof.”

No person elected a Member shall be entitled to vote at any Election, or Meeting, or to serve on the Council, or on any Committee, until he has been admitted in the manner above specified.

xi. No person shall be proposed or elected a Member at any other than an Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

xii. The Election, Admission, Withdrawal, or Death of every Member, with the date thereof, shall be entered in a Register.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE THE RULES.

i. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall, as a condition of Membership, be deemed to accept the following Obligation:

“I do hereby promise that I will, to the utmost of my power, promote the honour and interest of the British Numismatic Society, and observe the Rules of the said Society, so long as I shall continue a Member thereof.”

ii. If any person elected refuse to accept the said Obligation, such Election shall thereupon become null and void.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PAYMENTS BY THE MEMBERS TO THE SOCIETY.

i. Every person elected a Member of the Society after Lady Day, 1905, shall pay the sum of One Guinea as an Admission Fee: and also shall pay one year's subscription for the current year; and if any person, after being elected, fail to pay such Admission Fee and subscription within three months from the day of his election, such election shall be absolutely null and void, unless the Council, upon special cause being assigned to them, shall extend the period for making such payments.

ii. Every Member of the Society shall pay the annual sum of One Guinea, such sum to become due on the 1st of January in every year, and to be paid in advance.

If any Member pay to the Society the sum of Fifteen Pounds, over and above the Admission Fee (if any) and all arrears (if any) then due, all future annual payments shall be compounded.

III. A list of the names of all Members whose subscriptions are in arrears at the end of December in every year shall be suspended in the Meeting Room of the Society, at the first Ordinary Meeting in January of the succeeding year. Every such Member who shall not pay all moneys due to the Society before the then next Anniversary Meeting, shall, for such default, cease to be a Member of the Society, as from the date of that Meeting. The names of such defaulting Members shall be read from the Chair at the Anniversary Meeting, and the Chairman shall, at the same Meeting, make an entry of their removal against their names in the Register of the Society. No person so removed shall be competent for re-election, unless and until the arrears in default of which he was removed shall have been paid. The Treasurer of the Society shall send written notice to every Member whose name has been so suspended, notifying the fact and calling attention to the provisions of this Section.

IV. Works published by the Society shall be delivered only to those Members who have paid their annual subscription.

V. If any Member not in arrear of his subscription signify, in writing, to the Secretary of the Society that he desires to withdraw from the Society, such Member shall from that time cease to be a Member of, and be free from any future obligation to, the Society; the Council may, however, in their discretion accept the resignation of a Member whose subscription is in arrear, without payment of such arrears, and remit the same.

VI. If any person, who has once been a Member of the Society, and has voluntarily withdrawn from the same, or who, having been removed from the Society under Section III., has paid the arrears of subscription in default of which he was removed, be desirous of re-election, and, upon a proper proposal and vote by ballot in the usual manner, be re-elected, no Admission Fee shall become payable upon such re-election.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

I. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on such days as the Council shall, at the commencement of each Session, appoint; the Meetings shall commence at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, or at such other hour as the Society, at any one of its Ordinary Meetings, shall from time to time determine; and at these Meetings, in the absence of the President, and of the Vice-Presidents, the Director, Treasurer, or a Member of the Council, or (in the absence of any of these) a Member chosen by those present shall preside, but no Meeting shall be

held unless five Members at least be present. This law shall not preclude the Society from holding Ordinary Meetings on other days, or at other hours, if the Council shall see occasion.

II. Any Member may introduce two visitors at an Ordinary Meeting, and upon such other occasions as the Council may determine. The names of visitors must be entered by their introducers in a book provided for the purpose.

III. As many Members reside over the seas, it shall be in the discretion of the President to determine whether the questions at issue warrant, or the circumstances admit of sufficient notice being given before any Special or Extraordinary Meeting of the Society for such Members to exercise their powers of voting; and if he shall so think proper he may also determine the form and period of such notice.

IV. The President and Council may, and, on the written requisition of fifteen Members, shall summon Special or Extraordinary Meetings of the Society. Such Meetings shall be convened by a particular summons, addressed by the Secretary to each Member, to be delivered to him, or left at his residence, or transmitted to him by post, a week at least before the day appointed for the Meeting. This summons shall specify the business to be discussed at such Meeting; and no other business shall be discussed. This Clause shall be read as subservient to Section III., above.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE METHOD OF VOTING.

I. In the election or amoval of Members, and in all other questions which can be decided at an Ordinary Meeting, and which the Chairman may deem of sufficient moment, the votes shall be taken by way of ballot of the Members then present; and, in case of an equality of votes upon any ballot, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting vote.

II. But in the making, altering, or revocation of Rules, in the election of the President, Council, and Officers of the Society, and in all questions to be decided at the Anniversary Meeting, or which shall require a Special or Extraordinary Meeting, or which the President shall consider of sufficient importance, the votes shall be taken in the following manner: The question at issue shall be clearly stated in a printed form, approved by the President, with a space left for the vote and for the signature of the member, and this, subject to the provision of Section III. of Chapter V., shall be forwarded to every Member of the Society if the President shall so direct, or to every Member resident within the British Isles, in time for a reply to be received thereto before the date fixed for the voting. Members exercising their vote must do so, in writing and in ink, upon such printed form and must sign the same and return the same post paid, endorsed "Vote," and addressed to, or deliver the same in a closed envelope similarly endorsed, to the Hon. Secretary, at 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C. (or at such other address at

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which the Society may for the time being hold its meetings), so that in either case it shall be received at least 24 hours previous to the time fixed for the meeting at which the votes are to be taken, or, in the alternative, the Members may deliver the form, duly filled in and signed as before-mentioned, provided they do so in person, to the Scrutators at such meeting. It is essential that the vote shall be upon the printed form and shall be signed by the Member voting. The Secretary, or his deputy, shall deliver all votes received by him, within the limit of time mentioned, unopened to the Scrutators, who alone shall be aware of their contents, and shall preserve secrecy thereon. At the close of the meeting the scrutators shall, after making their return, either destroy the votes or preserve them under seal as the President shall instruct, and if any question shall arise as to any alleged informality the President's decision shall be absolute, and in case of an equality of votes he shall have a second or casting vote.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, AND OF THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, DIRECTOR, TREASURER, LIBRARIAN, SECRETARY AND COUNCIL.

I. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of November, unless the same do fall on a Sunday, when the Anniversary Meeting shall be held on some convenient day to be fixed by the Council.

II. The property and management of the affairs of the Society shall vest in the President, six Vice-Presidents, the Director, the Treasurer, the Librarian, Secretary and fifteen Members of the Council. The President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

III. The Annual Election, for the ensuing year, of the President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Council shall take place at the Anniversary Meeting. At the two Ordinary Meetings of the Society next preceding the day of the Anniversary Meeting, the President shall give notice of the hours fixed for holding the said elections respectively; and no Member, whose annual subscription is unpaid, shall be capable of giving a vote at such election.

IV. Every Member of the Society resident within the British Isles shall be called to the Anniversary Meeting by a particular summons from the Secretary, which shall be delivered to every Member, or left at his residence, or transmitted to him by post, a week, at least, before the day appointed for the Meeting. This summons shall state the time of meeting, and also the hours fixed for opening and closing the voting.

V. The President and Council shall, in each year, not later than the Ordinary Meeting of the Society preceding the Anniversary Meeting, nominate not more than nine Members of the existing Council, whom they recommend to the Society for election as the continuing Members of the Council for the ensuing year, and

also not fewer than six Members, not being of the existing Council, whom they recommend to the Society for election into the Council for the ensuing year. They shall also, at the same time, and in the same list, nominate those persons, being Members of the Society, whom they recommend to the Society for election to the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian and Secretary, for the ensuing year; but as often as any President will, on the next Anniversary, have held that office for five consecutive years, they shall omit his name from such nomination for election as President for the ensuing year. No Member whose profession, business, employment or occupation is connected directly or indirectly with Numismatics shall be eligible as President, Vice-President, Director, Librarian or Secretary, nor shall more than two such Members serve upon the Council at the same time.

VI. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society preceding the Anniversary Meeting, the names of the Members so recommended for election as President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Council for the ensuing year, shall be announced from the Chair.

VII. A printed voting form containing, respectively, the names of the persons nominated and recommended by the President, Officers, and Council for election as the President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Members of the Council for the ensuing year, and each of them having a blank column opposite to the names for the substitution of other names by any Member, shall be prepared and forwarded to the Members resident within the British Isles with the summons, under Section IV., to the Anniversary Meeting, as is provided for by Section II. of Chapter VI.

VIII. Two Scrutators at this and at all other Meetings at which their services may be required, shall be nominated by the Chairman at the Meeting, with the approbation of the majority of the Members present, to examine the lists at the ballots.

IX. The voting and election shall then proceed under the provisions of Section II. of Chapter VI.

X. The Scrutators, after examining the lists, shall report to the Meeting the names of those Members having the majority of votes for filling the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Members of the Council for the ensuing year, the names of which persons shall be announced from the chair.

XI. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, Vice-President, Director, Treasurer, Librarian or Secretary, or in the Council, occurring in the intervals of the Annual Elections, unless the same shall occur within two calendar months of the date of the Anniversary Meeting, the President or the Secretary shall cause the Council to be summoned to elect a Member to fill such vacancy, and the Officers and Council, or any six or more of them, meeting thereupon in the usual place, shall proceed to the said election.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE COMMON SEAL, AND DEEDS.

I. The Common Seal of the Society shall be of the pattern and device reproduced on the title page hereof and shall be in the custody of the President.

II. Every deed, or writing, to which the common seal is to be affixed, shall be passed and sealed in Council, and signed by the President, or Vice-President in the Chair, the Director and the Secretary, or (in the absence of either the Director or the Secretary), by three of the Members of the Council present.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE AMOVAL OF MEMBERS.

I. If there be any alleged cause, other than non-payment of Subscription (see Chap. IV., Sec. III.), for the amoval of any Member, the same shall be submitted to the Council, who may, at their discretion, bring it before the Society at one of its Ordinary Meetings, and if, upon the question being put to the ballot, the amoval of such Member shall be carried, the Chairman shall pronounce him amoved in these words :

“By the authority and in the name of the British Numismatic Society I declare A. B. to be now amoved, and no longer a Member thereof.”

And the Chairman shall, at the same Meeting, make an entry thereof against the name in the Register.

II. No such amoval shall be determined by a majority of less than four-fifths of the votes of the Members balloting on the occasion.

CHAPTER X.

OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

I. Any persons of distinguished reputation or learning may be proposed by the President and Council for election as Honorary Members of the Society, without being subject to any annual or other contribution. The proposal shall be made by certificate in writing, and read at an Ordinary Meeting, and it shall be suspended in the Meeting Room of the Society until put to the ballot. Such certificate shall be put to the ballot at any Meeting the Council may appoint, provided that such meeting be not earlier than the second Ordinary Meeting following that at which it was read. The number of such Honorary Members shall not exceed Twenty. Section IV. of Chapter II. shall be independent of this Rule, and Members of the Royal Families so elected Honorary Members may be in addition to the limit of Twenty.

II. Honorary Members may attend all Meetings of the Society, but shall not have any vote. They shall be entitled to receive the *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the Society if they should express a wish to do so.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE PRESIDENT.

I. As the head of the Society, the President shall have the general supervision of its affairs.

II. He shall, as often as may be consistent with other duties, attend the Meetings of the Society, and of the Council.

III. He shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of the Council and of all Committees.

IV. He may, at any time, summon Extraordinary Meetings of the Council.

V. In the exercise of his functions, he shall in all things consult the honour and interest of the Society, over which he is appointed to preside.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

I. The Vice-Presidents shall be limited to six in number and shall be, *ex officio*, Members of the Council.

II. One of the Vice-Presidents shall supply the place of the President in his absence, and, in exercising his office each shall remember that he is equally bound with him to attend the Meetings of the Council and of the Society, and to promote its honour and interests.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE DIRECTOR AND THE SECRETARY.

I. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents the Director shall preside over the Meetings of the Society.

II. The Director and the Secretary shall, with the President, be the chief superintendents of the publications of the Society.

III. They shall be, *ex officio*, Members of the Council and of all Committees.

IV. They shall arrange, with the approval of the President, the business of the Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

V. They shall see that proper estimates are procured for all work, within their department, proposed to be executed for the Society by any artist, engraver printer or other person; and they shall not direct nor allow such work to be entered upon until such estimates have been sanctioned by the Council.

VI. In the exercise of their office they shall endeavour to promote the objects of the Society, and shall (so far as in them lies) take care that the publications of the Society are consistent with its position and importance.

VII. They shall render any assistance, by correspondence or otherwise, to Members towards the furtherance of the objects of the Society.

VIII. If either resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE TREASURER.

I. In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents and Director, the Treasurer shall preside over the Meetings of the Society.

II. He shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of the Council and of all Committees.

III. He shall keep the Accounts of the Society in proper books, to be provided for that purpose.

IV. He shall not make any payment (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council.

V. He shall, from time to time, pay in to the Bankers of the Society all moneys received on its account, and he shall invest surplus moneys as directed by the Council.

VI. He shall keep the property of the Society insured in such sums as the Council shall from time to time direct.

VII. He shall, with the aid of the Finance Committee (if any), exercise a vigilant superintendence over the expenditure of the Society, and shall in all things consult its interests.

VIII. He shall produce his accounts and bank pass books at every Council, and shall submit the same, personally, to the Auditors

IX. If he resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE LIBRARIAN.

I. In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents, Director, and Treasurer, the Librarian shall preside over the meetings of the Society.

II. He shall be, *ex officio*, a member of the Council and of all Committees.

III. He shall be the chief custodian of the Library, Museum, Cabinets, and Antiquities or Curios of the Society, and shall see that the same are preserved and kept in proper order and condition. He shall keep proper catalogues of the same in books, to be provided for the purpose, and shall, from time to time, report

thereon to the Council, and advise as to acquisitions; but shall not incur any expense without the previous sanction of that body.

iv. With the aid of the Assistant Secretary or Clerk, he shall regulate the lending of books to Members and keep a careful record thereof.

v. He shall assist Members, by correspondence or otherwise, in literary matters, towards the furtherance of the objects of the Society.

vi. If he resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE COUNCIL.

i. The management of the estate and revenues of the Society, and the conduct of its business, shall be entrusted to the Council.

ii. No debts are to be incurred without its sanction, nor any payments (except petty cash and ordinary current expenses) made without its order. Any proposal for an expenditure, other than the publication of the Journal of the Society, exceeding the sum of Fifty pounds shall be laid before the Society at one of its Ordinary Meetings, to receive its sanction at the next following Ordinary Meeting, previously to incurring the same.

iii. The Council shall meet once a month, or oftener, during eight months, at least, of each year.

iv. Five Members shall be a sufficient number to proceed with business, except in those cases only in which the presence of a greater number is required by these Rules.

v. The Council shall regulate the proceedings of its Committees, the Minutes of which shall, at every Meeting, be laid before it.

vi. The Treasurer's Accounts shall, at every Meeting, be laid on the table for examination.

vii. The Council shall decide what papers shall be published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, or otherwise, and generally, shall regulate the publications of the Society.

viii. The question of the publication of any paper and of any engravings in illustration thereof, shall, unless the Council are unanimous, be determined by ballot.

ix. The Council may, from time to time, appoint Committees for special purposes.

x. The Council may, from time to time, appoint an Assistant Secretary or Clerk to assist the Treasurer, Director, and Secretary in conducting the business of the Society, or for any special or temporary purpose, subject to the ratification of such appointments by the Society, at some Ordinary Meeting.

xi. The Council shall exercise a vigilant superintendence over the Officers of

the Society, and shall take care that the duties attaching to each Officer are duly performed.

XII. The Council shall, from time to time, report all important matters to the Society, and shall endeavour in all its proceedings to advance the prosperity and increase the usefulness of the Society.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE ASSISTANT-SECRETARY OR CLERK TO THE COUNCIL.

I. An Assistant-Secretary, or Clerk to the Council, may be appointed by the Council, and shall, when appointed to the office, either not be a Member of the Society, or, if a Member, shall cease to be so on his appointment.

II. He shall be paid for his services according to the determination of the Council.

III. He shall be subject to such rules and orders as shall from time to time be made or given by the President and Council, and shall be constantly in attendance at the Meetings of the Society, Council, and Committees.

IV. He shall assist the Director, Treasurer, Librarian, and Secretary in conducting the business of the Society.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AND LOCAL SECRETARIES.

I. The Council may from time to time appoint Corresponding Members of the Council or Local Secretaries in this or in other Countries; whose duty, when appointed, shall be to communicate regularly with the Council, and to give the earliest intimation of any discovery relating to Numismatics or other matters or events coming within the object of the Society in their respective localities. They shall endeavour to advance the knowledge of Numismatics in such localities, and render any assistance they can to their fellow Members in such localities or countries.

II. Every such appointment shall continue only during the pleasure of the Council, and shall terminate with the Council Elections in every year, for no Council can bind its successors.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE AUDITORS.

I. The Society shall, at one of its Ordinary Meetings in the month of October in each year, on the nomination of the President, appoint two Members to be Auditors of the Accounts of the Society for the past year. One of such Members

shall, if possible, be nominated from the Auditors of the preceding year, so that each Auditor may serve two years.

II. The Auditors shall examine the Accounts of the Treasurer.

III. They shall check his receipts, examine the vouchers for his payments, and make such investigation into the general financial condition of the Society as they shall think proper, and they shall report to the Society thereon.

IV. The Report of the Auditors shall be read to the Society at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall be printed in the *Proceedings*.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE MAKING, ALTERING, AND REVOCATION OF RULES.

I. The draft of any Rule proposed to be made, in addition to, or for the revocation or alteration of any existing Rule of the Society, shall be submitted in print, or in writing, by the Council, or by at least fifteen Members, to one of the Ordinary Meetings of the Society, at which it shall be publicly read, but only received as a notice, and not enlarged upon or discussed. A copy of such draft shall be hung up in the Society's Meeting Room, and shall remain so hung up until the day of the Meeting at which the draft is to be discussed. The draft shall be discussed at a Special Meeting for that purpose, which shall be convened for a date later than the Second Ordinary Meeting next after the one to which the draft was submitted: provided that, if the Anniversary Meeting falls later than such second Ordinary Meeting, the draft may, at the option of the President and Council, be discussed at the Anniversary Meeting. A copy of the draft shall be forwarded to the Members, and the question whether the draft shall pass or not, in whole or in part, all be determined as is provided by Section II. of Chapter VI.

II. No proposed amendment to such draft, or to any part of it, shall be discussed, or put to the vote, at the Anniversary or Special Meeting, unless such Amendment shall have been submitted in print or in writing to, and publicly read, by way of notice only, at the Ordinary Meeting of the Society next following that to which such draft was submitted. Copies of all amendments so submitted shall be hung up in the Society's Meeting Room, before the close of the Meeting at which they are submitted, and shall remain so hung up until the day of the Anniversary or Special Meeting, and shall similarly be forwarded to the Members.

III. Notwithstanding anything herein contained to the contrary, no addition to, alteration or revocation of any Rule of the Society shall be made unless the same shall be carried by a majority of four-fifths at least of the votes tendered, but this restriction shall not apply in the event of the Society receiving the privilege of a Royal Charter of Incorporation.

The British Numismatic Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.¹

ROYAL MEMBERS.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

In Alphabetical Order.

HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD II., KING OF THE BELGIANS.
HIS MAJESTY CHRISTIAN IX., KING OF DENMARK.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF DENMARK.
HIS MAJESTY GEORGE, KING OF THE HELLENES.
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ROYAL OF THE HELLENES.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY CARLOS, KING OF PORTUGAL.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF PORTUGAL.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CRISTINA OF SPAIN.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

In Order of Election.

SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper
of the Public Records, 3, Portman Square, W.
FIELD MARSHAL THE RIGHT HON. EARL ROBERTS, V.C., K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E., O.M., P.C., R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Litt., 47, Portland Place, W.

¹ This list includes all members elected prior to 27th July, 1905.

- HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE, late American Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 4, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
- THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF YARBOROUGH, BARONESS FAUCONBERG, BARONESS CONYERS, Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire, and 17, Arlington Street, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DE SOVERAL, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. THE KING OF PORTUGAL, 12, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LALAING, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of the Belgians, 15, West Halkin Street, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT ALBERT MENSENDORFF-POUILLY-DIETRICHSTEIN, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 18, Belgrave Square, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR FRANK ERNEST DE BILLE, G.C.V.O., Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of Denmark, 24, Pont Street, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON, G.C.V.O., French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Albert Gate House, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT PAUL WOLFF-METTERNICH, German Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 9, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY COMMENDATORE ALBERTO PANSA, G.C.V.O., Italian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 20, Grosvenor Square, W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT TADASU HAYASHI, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan, 4, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY BARON GERIQUE VAN HERWIJNEN, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the Queen of the Netherlands, 8, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE BENCKENDORFF, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Chesham House, Chesham Place, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY BARON C. BILDT, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of H.M. the King of Sweden, 59 and 60, Jermyn Street, S.W.
- VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., Editor of the *Athenaeum*, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.
- HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR GASTON CARLIN, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of the Republic of Switzerland, 38, Beauchamp Place, S.W.
- HIS EXCELLENCY SEÑOR DON LUIS POLO DE BERNABÉ, G.C.V.O., Spanish Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, 1, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.

MEMBERS.

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

- ABABRELTON, ROBERT A, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box, 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa.
- ABBOTT, ERNEST HENRY, Esq., 6, Warwick Court, Grays Inn, London, W.C.
- ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.

- ABRAHAM, E. A. V., Esq., Georgetown, Demerara.
ADAMS, HERBERT JORDAN, Esq., J.P., Roseneath, Enfield.
AILESBUURY, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, Savernake Forest, Marlborough.
ALLEN, WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Burton Joyce, near Nottingham.
ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., Cadster, near Whaley Bridge.
ANSCOMBE, ALFRED, Esq., 4, Temple Road, Hornsey, London, N.
APPLEBY, FREDERICK HENRY, Esq., J.P., M.R.C.S., Barnbygate House, Newark.
APPLETON, WILLIAM SUMNER, Esq., 462, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
ARBOUIN, FASSETT ERNEST, Esq., F.R.G.S., 8, Rue de Pons, Cognac, Charente, France.
ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., 88 and 90, Deansgate, Manchester.
ARMSTRONG, ROY WEBB, Esq., 4, Tokenhouse Buildings, London, E.C.
ASHBY, ALFRED, Esq., Heathfield, Bromborough, Cheshire.
ASHBY, JOHN, Esq., J.P., The Close, Staines, Middlesex.
ASKWITH, G. R., Esq., M.A., 2, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C.
ASPREY, JOSEPH WILLIAM, Esq., Gwynant, Shortlands, Kent.
ASQUITH, THE RIGHT HON. H. H., P.C., K.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, London, W.
ASTLEY, THE REV. H. J. DUKINFELD, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., East
Rudham, near King's Lynn, Norfolk.
ATHILL, CHARLES H., Esq., F.S.A., Richmond Herald, College of Arms, Queen Victoria
Street, London, E.C.
AUDEN, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, M.A., M.D., 54, Bootham, York.
- BABBS, RICHARD, Esq., Brown's Road, Surbiton Hill, London.
BAILEY, HENRY, Esq., Ridgemount, Enfield.
BAILEY, WILLIAM HEAP, Esq., 28, Oakley Square, London, N.W.
BAIN, R. DONALD, Esq. (H.M. Inspector of Mines), Aykleyheads, Durham.
BAINES, M. T., Esq., M.A., J.P., Wootton Bassett, Wilts.
BAIRD, The Rev. Dr. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
BAKER, SIR AUGUSTINE F., Kt., M.A., 56, Merrion Square, Dublin.
BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
BALLS, THOMAS, Esq., 14, Villa Road, Brixton, London, S.W.
BALLY, MONSIEUR STANISLAS EMILE, La Sapinière, En Marin, sur Lausanne.
BANCROFT, LEVI HORACE, Esq., LL.B., LL.D., etc. (County Judge, Attorney-General
for State of Wisconsin, U.S.A.), Richland Centre, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
BANKS, WALTER, Esq., The Homestead, Northwood, R.S.O.
BANNERMAN, W. BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., The Lindens, Sydenham Road,
Croydon.
BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., etc., Bhalgora House, Jharia P.O.,
Bengal, India.
*BARNES, ALFRED W., Esq., 1, Bury Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.

- BARRATT, PERCIVAL, Esq., Wood Street, Wakefield.
- BARRON, THOMAS WALTER, Esq., M.A., Yew Tree Hall, Forest Row, Sussex.
- BARTER, ALFRED, Esq., Woodlawn, Cricklewood.
- BARTHOLOMEW, CHARLES WILLIAM, Esq., M.A., C.E., Blakesley Hall, near Towcester.
- BARTLEET, RICHARD, Esq., Heathfield, Shepperton, Middlesex.
- BATES, JAMES, Esq., Arran Lodge, Holly Walk, Leamington Spa.
- BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., St. Margaret's, Malvern.
- BEARMAN, THOMAS, Esq., Melbourne House, Tudor Road, Hackney, London, N.E.
- BEAUMONT, EDWARD, Esq., M.A., 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
- BEDFORD, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., F.S.A., Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.
- BELOE, E. M., Junr., Esq., Paradise, King's Lynn.
- BEMROSE, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., J.P., Elmhurst, Derby.
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- BIGWOOD, CECIL, Esq., M.A., J.P., 115, City Road, London, E.C.
- BIRCH, JOHN DE GRAY, Esq., P.O. Box 81, Salisbury, Rhodesia.
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- BODKIN, ARCHIBALD HENRY, Esq., Recorder of Dover, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.
- BOLTON, COLONEL ALBERT JOHN, V.D., Alfreton, Hayne Road, Beckenham.
- BOUDEAU, MONSIEUR ELIE, 2, Rue Louvois, Paris.
- BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.B., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 35, Princes Square, London, W.
- BOWLES, H. BOLLES, Esq., 35, Oakfield Road, Clifton, Bristol.
- BOWLES, COLONEL HENRY F., M.A., M.P., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
- BOYLE, SIR EDWARD, Bart., K.C., 63, Queen's Gate, London, S.W.
- BOYLE, COLONEL GERALD EDMUND, 48, Queen's Gate Terrace, London, S.W.
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- BRASSINGTON, W. S., Esq., F.S.A., Librarian, Shakespeare Memorial Association, Southcroft, Stratford-on-Avon.
- BREEDS, ARTHUR O., Esq., F.S.I., 62, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
- BRENNER, VICTOR DAVID, Esq., 147, W. 23rd Street, New York City, U.S.A.

- BRIDGMAN, FRANCIS GEORGE, Esq., 5, Duchess Street, Portland Place, London, W.
BRIGGS, CHARLES ADOLPHUS, Esq., F.E.S., Rock House, Lynmouth, R.S.O., N. Devon.
BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, John Minto, Esq., M.A., Librarian, Brighton.
BRINKWORTH, GEORGE J., Esq., Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
BRITTON, A. H. D., Esq., 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, Buttevant, Co. Cork, Ireland.
BRODRICK, W. J. H., Esq., B.A., 2, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.
BROOKING-ROWE, J., Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton, S. Devon.
BROÜN-MORISON, JOHN BROÜN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., D.L., J.P., Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex.
BROWN, J. ELLMAN, Esq., Shoreham, Sussex.
BROWN, WILLIAM HERVEY, Esq., C.E., 55, Hampton Park, Redland, Bristol.
BRUNN, MONSIEUR L. E., Gothersgade 101, Copenhagen.
BUCHAN, JOHN S., Esq., 17, Barrack Street, Dundee.
BULL, JOHN FRANCIS, Esq., 52, Bedford Row, London, W.C.
BURNEY, CHARLES, Esq., B.A., Halstead Lodge, Upper Tooting.
BURNLEY, CORPORATION OF, Alfred Steele Sheldon, Esq., Town Clerk, Town Hall, Burnley.
BURK, GEORGE, Esq., F.R.M.S., Castle Hill, Rotherfield, Sussex.
BURTCHAELL, G. D., Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.R.I.A., 44, Morehampton Road, Dublin.
BUTCHER, J. O., Esq., 26, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London, W.
- CAHN, MONSIEUR ADOLPHE E., 55, Niedenau, Frankfurt-a-Main.
CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., Wallfields, Hertford.
CALVERT, J. R., Esq., Earls Barton, Arbour Street, Southport.
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. Jenkinson, Esq., Librarian.
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CARLYON, A. K., Esq., D.L., J.P., Mount Park, Harrow, Middlesex.
CARLYON, MISS ELLEN GERTRUDE, Kingston, Princess Road, Bournemouth.
CARLYON, T. A., Esq., Connemara, Darracott Road, Boscombe, Bournemouth.
CARLYON, LT.-COL. TREDENHAM F., Tredenham Lodge, S. Farnborough.
*CARLYON-BRITTON, P. W. P., Esq., F.S.A., D.L., J.P., 14, Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, W.
*CARLYON-BRITTON, WINSTANLEY, Esq., 14, Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, W.
CARNEGIE, MAJOR D. L., 6, Playfair Terrace, St. Andrews.
CARTER, JOHN WILLIAM, Esq., a Lieutenant of the City of London, 28, St. Swithins Lane, London, E.C.
CARY-ELWES, VALENTINE DUDLEY HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., D.L., J.P., Billing Hall, Northampton.
*CAVE, GEORGE, Esq., K.C., B.A., D.L., J.P., 4, New Square, Lincolns Inn, London, W.C.
CHALMERS, J. H., Esq., Holcombe, Moretonhampstead, S. Devon.
CHAMP, HENRY, Esq., c/o Messrs. S. & J. Watts, Manchester.

- CHANCELLOR, EDWIN BERESFORD, Esq., M.A., F.R.Hist.S., 29, Elm Park Gardens, London, S.W.
- CHAPMAN, SAMUEL HUDSON, Esq., 1128, Spruce Street, Philadelphia.
- CHARLTON, WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Burnage House, Levenshulme, Manchester.
- CHIFFERIEL, ARTHUR G., Esq., A.C.A., 24, Clifden Gardens, Twickenham.
- CHITTY, ALFRED, Esq., 519, Malvern Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.
- CHIVERS, JOHN, Esq., J.P., Wychfield, Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.
- CLARKE, JOHN WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.I., The Chestnuts, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
- CLEMENTS, LUTHER, Esq., 131, Peckham Rye, London, S.E.
- CLIFFORD, HENRY CHARLES, Esq., 14, Oakcroft Road, Lewisham Hill, London, S.E.
- CLIFTON, HAROLD, Esq., 9, Clifton Terrace, Brighton.
- COBHAM, CHARLES, Esq., F.S.I., Shrubbery, Gravesend, Kent.
- COHEN, CHARLES J., Esq., 312, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, H. C. Wanklyn, Esq., Town Clerk, Colchester.
- COLDRIDGE, WARD, Esq., M.A., 12, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
- COLT, F. EVERARD, Esq., 9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
- COOPER, THOMAS, Esq., Mossley House, Congleton, Cheshire. (Since deceased.)
- CORFIELD, F. L. W., Esq., E.T.C. Mess, Alexandria, Egypt.
- CORNISH, HARRY FRANCIS, Esq., 90, Cambridge Gardens, N. Kensington, London, W.
- COSTIN, FREDERICK, Esq., 89, Minet Avenue, Harlesden, London, N.W.
- COURTHOPE-MUNROE, HARRY, Esq., M.A., 3, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.
- COX, MISS MARY LOUISE, 75, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.
- COX, THE REV. J. CHARLES, LL.D., F.S.A., 13, Longton Avenue, Sydenham, London, S.E.
- COX, SAMUEL HERBERT, PROFESSOR, F.C.S., F.G.S., 12, Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, W.
- CRANE, ALBERT CHARLES, Esq., 46, Regina Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.
- CRANFIELD, SYDNEY W., Esq., A.R.I.B.A., 58, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
- CRANFIELD, W. B., Esq., F.S.I., 6, Poultry, London, E.C.
- CREEKE, MAJOR A. B., Westwood, Burnley.
- CRISP, FREDERICK A., Esq., F.S.A., Grove Park, Denmark Hill, London, S.E.
- CRITTALL, RICHARD, Esq., C.E., 30, Lewisham Park, London, S.E.
- CROFTS, JAMES HENRY, Esq., Lorraine House, St. Mark's Road, N. Kensington, London, W. (Since deceased.)
- CROUCH, JAMES LEONARD, Esq., F.S.I., 29, Basinghall Street, London, E.C.
- CURSITER, J. W., Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, N.B.
- DALTON, RICHARD, Esq., 202, Redland Road, Durdham Park, Bristol.
- DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 90, Church Street, Brighton.
- DAVIES, ROBERT OWEN, Esq., J.P., Grasgarth, Acton.
- DAVIS, REGINALD GEORGE, Esq., 28 and 29, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, E.C.

- DAVIS, W. J., Esq., Erceldeane, Wake Green Road, Moseley, Birmingham.
- DAWSON, G. J. CROSBIE, Esq., M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., F.S.S., May Place, Newcastle, Staffs.
- DEAMER, GEORGE EDWIN, Esq., L.R.C.P., The Pines, Featherston, New Zealand.
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- ELLIS, FRANK ELMER, Esq., 115, North 11th Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

- ELLIS, R. GEOFFREY, Esq., B.A. 2, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C.
 ENFIELD, THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT, 5, St. James's Square, London, S.W.
 ESCHWEGE, MAURICE, Esq., 47, Lime Street, Liverpool.
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 Ludgate Circus, London, E.C.
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- GANS, LEOPOLD, Esq., 143/7, Franklin Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 GANTZ, THE REV. W. LEWIS, M.A., Norton Rectory, Market Drayton, Salop.
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GRIFFITH, HENRY, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Clifton Spa, Bristol. (Since deceased.)
GRIFFITHS, GEORGE CHARLES, Esq., F.Z.S., 43, Caledonia Place, Clifton, Bristol.
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HARE, G. E., Esq., Hollow Stone, Nottingham.
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- IDLER, ROBERT KELLY, Esq., 241, South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
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MURRAY, KEITH WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., 37, Cheniston Gardens, Kensington, London, W.

NAPIER, PROFESSOR ARTHUR S., M.A., D.Litt., Ph.D., Headington Hill, Oxford.

NEEDES, EDWARD ERNEST, Esq., 141, Euston Road, London, N.W.

NELSON, PHILIP, Esq., M.D., Ch.B., Lecturer on Numismatics at the Institute of Archæology, University of Liverpool, 73, Rodney Street, Liverpool.

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*NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., Earl Marshal, Norfolk House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.

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PECK, HERBERT, Esq., M.D., 18, Gladstone Road, Chesterfield.

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- PHARAZYN, MRS. L. C., Suttie's Hotel, Bedford Place, London, W.C.
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- PRICE, HARRY, Esq., M.R.A.S., Cloverley, St. Donatt's Road, New Cross, London, S.E.
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- RENTON, JAMES HALL, Esq., Rowfold Grange, Billingshurst, Sussex.
- *REYNOLDS, H. M., Esq., 71, Stradella Road, Herne Hill.
- RHODES, HENRY DOUGLAS, Esq., 19, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
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